

ROUTLEDGE STUDIES IN ANCIENT HISTORY

Immigrant Women in Athens

Gender, Ethnicity, and Citizenship
in the Classical City

Rebecca Futo Kennedy



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Many of the women whose names are known to history from classical Athens were *metics* or immigrants, linked in the literature with assumptions of being 'sexually exploitable.' Despite recent scholarship on women in Athens beyond notions of the 'citizen wife' and the 'common prostitute,' the scholarship on women, both citizen and foreign, is focused almost exclusively on women in the reproductive and sexual economy of the city. This book examines the position of *metic* women in classical Athens, to understand the social and economic role of *metic* women in the city, beyond the sexual labor market.

This book contributes to two important aspects of the history of life in fifth-century Athens: it explores our knowledge of *metics*, a little-researched group, and contributes to the study of women in antiquity, which has traditionally divided women socially between citizen-wives and everyone else. This tradition has wrongly situated *metic* women, because they could not legally be wives, as some variety of whores. Author Rebecca Futo Kennedy critiques the traditional approach to the study of women through an examination of primary literature on non-citizen women in the classical period. She then constructs new approaches to the study of *metic* women in classical Athens that fit the evidence and open up further paths for exploration. This leading-edge volume advances the study of women beyond their sexual status and breaks down the ideological constraints that both Victorians and feminist scholars reacting to them have historically relied upon throughout the study of women in antiquity.

Rebecca Futo Kennedy is Assistant Professor in the Department of Classics at Denison University, USA. She is author of *Athena's Justice: Athena, Athens, and the Concept of Justice in Greek Tragedy* (2009) and co-author of *Race and Ethnicity in the Classical World: An Anthology of Primary Sources in Translation* (2013).

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Contents

	<i>List of Figures</i>
	<i>Acknowledgments</i>
	<i>Abbreviations</i>
	Introduction: Immigrant Women in a Male Citizen World
1	Metic Women, Citizenship, and Marriage in Athenian Law
2	The Ideology of the Metic Woman
3	Aspasia, Athenian Citizen Elites, and the Myth of the Courtesan
4	The Dangers of the Big City
5	Working Women, Not 'Working Girls'
	<i>Bibliography</i>
	<i>Index</i>

Figures

- 2.1 Amazonomachy. ca. 440–430 BCE. 1899,0721.5.©Trustees of the British Museum.
- 2.2 Amazon warrior. ca. 460–450 BCE. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.286.86).
- 2.3 Grave *stele*, Theano of Erythrai. ca. 400 BCE. National Archaeological Museum, Athens 3472.
- 3.1 Symposium with men and women. ca. 480 BCE. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920 (20.246).
- 3.2 *Ostrakon* with Elpinikê, sister of Kimon. ca. 480 BCE. Kerameikos Museum O 6874.
- 3.3 *Ostrakon* with Koisyra, mother of Megakles. ca. 490 BCE. Kerameikos Museum O 2359.1.
- 4.1 Grave *stele*, Demetria of Kyzikus. Mid-fourth century BCE. Athenian Agora I 3174.
- 4.2 Grave *stele*, Eirene of Byzantium. ca. 375–350 BCE. Piraeus Museum 3582.
- 5.1 Shopping for the symposia. ca. 490 BCE. BM E61.©Trustees of the British Museum.
- 5.2 Grave *stele*, Artemisia. Early fourth century BCE. Piraeus Museum 3581.
- 5.3 Grave *stele*, Melitta. Mid-fourth century BCE. 1909,0221.1.©Trustees of the British Museum.
- 5.4 Grave *stele*, Phanostratê. ca. 350 BCE. National Archaeological Museum, Athens 993.

- 5.5 Grave *stele*, girl with *krotala*. ca. 350 BCE. National Archaeological Museum, Athens 1896.
- 5.6 Music and dance school? ca. 450–425 BCE. National Archaeological Museum, Naples 3232.

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Abbreviations

- APF Davies, J. 1971. *Athenian Propertied Families, 600–300 BC*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- ARV Beazley, J. 1963. *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- FGrH Jacoby, F. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers.
- FRA Osborne, M. and Byrne, S. 1996. *The Foreign Residents of Athens: An Annex to the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names: Attica*. Louvain: Peeters.
- IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin.
- LGPN Fraser, P., et al., eds. *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, 5 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- ML Meiggs, R. and Lewis, D. M., eds. 1969. *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Nauck Nauck, A. 1963 [1848]. *Aristophanis Byzantii, grammatici Alexandri, fragmenta. Collegit et disposuit Augustus Nauck. Accedit R. Schmidtii comm. de Callistrato Aristophaneo*. Hildesheim: G. Olms.
- PMG Page, D., ed. 1962. *Poetae Melici Graeci*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers.

Introduction

Immigrant Women in a Male Citizen World

μετοικέω: change one's abode, remove to a place, II. *abs.*, to be a settler, reside in a foreign city

μέτοικος, ὁ, ἡ: settler from abroad, alien resident in a foreign city, denizen

—Liddel, Jones, Scott *Greek-English Lexicon*

This is a book about immigrant women in classical Athens. It may be somewhat misleading to refer to these women as immigrants. Whereas some were recent immigrants to the city, others had been taken to Athens as slaves and still others were second- or third-generation residents. What they had in common, however, was that their legal status in Athens was ‘metic.’ A metic was a ‘resident foreigner’ or ‘resident alien,’ a non-Athenian who lived in Attica. Metics were defined in antiquity as those who needed to register with a city official and pay the metic tax (*metoikion*). This bare definition hardly captures the paradoxes and complexity of the lives of metic women or their various roles in and contributions to classical Athenian society. Metic women played a role at almost every social and economic level of the polis. Despite their many contributions to the life of the city, however, metic women were extremely vulnerable in law and were often the subject of seemingly malicious slander and prosecution.

In his classic study of the legal and social status of metics in classical Athens, Whitehead claims that there were too few metic women to have any appreciable impact on Athenian ideas and allots only a few sentences to women in his monograph.¹ Scholars interested in metics tend to dismiss the women as a non-influential and nearly invisible aspect of the community.² And yet metic woman constitute the majority of women whose names are known from classical Athenian literary sources and they make up as well a significant portion of the individuals whose professions and lives are commemorated in inscriptions. Metic women were frequent targets of

lawsuits and invective, more so than metic men, and they were targeted for sexual misbehavior much in the same way that political enemies among citizens tended to be targeted. Scholars who focus on women in classical Athens have obscured the realities of metic women by assimilating them to prostitutes, following a troubling dichotomy that categorizes all women who do not fall under the penumbra of ‘citizen wife’ as prostitutes or sexually exploitable women, the ‘not respectable.’ As a result, metic women have been almost exclusively discussed as sexual labor. Metic women lived lives outside of the discourse of prostitution. What were their lives like and why is it that so many of these women have been considered prostitutes? These are my concern. In order to understand better the lives and reputations of metic women, the reality of metic life needs to be distinguished from citizen ideologies or generalized attitudes towards women, foreigners, and certain types of labor in the classical polis . What was it about metic women that made them the targets of so many attacks by citizen men? Understanding the nature of these attacks is the first step to revealing the real lives of the women who suffered them.³

Being Metic

A metic in Athens was subject to the metic tax, the *metoikion*. The tax was not insignificant either to the metic or the city’s coffers—twelve drachma per year for men and their households, six drachma per year for independent metic women. An independent metic woman was recognized in law as being “her own master” (*autê autês kuria*), and she was assumed to have been unmarried or widowed and without a male relative to stand as her representative. The existence of the tax category suggests there were enough such women in the city to be categorized in law and they were also considered capable of earning income in the city, otherwise the tax could not be paid.

Metics were generally excluded from access to citizenship, although under a few circumstances, metic men could achieve it by a grant from the state. Such grants were typically for extraordinary service to the state. A metic woman could no more achieve such a grant than she could achieve the other privileges granted in the fourth century to metics such as *isoteleia*, *enktêsis gês*, *enktêsis oikias*, or *proxenia*.⁴ Metic women were relegated to continued metic status even when married

to someone granted citizenship— upon the death of or divorce from the enfranchised spouse, she became subject to the metic tax once again even if the children from her marriage were themselves citizens.

Independent metic women, as with all metics, were required to have a *prostates*, an Athenian sponsor who would represent them and vouch for them in legal contexts. Metics were governed by the office of the *polemarch*, who determined their status and also heard cases involving metics. There were tax officials specifically designated to register metics and record their payment of the tax and men known as the *polêtai* whose job it was to sell into slavery any metics who violated one of the laws that applied specifically to them. There were three specific types of legal prosecution to which metics in particular were subject. The first was the *graphê xenias*, the charge of pretending to be a citizen. The penalty for the *graphê xenias* could be death. Next was the *graphê apostasiou*,⁵ the charge for failure to register and pay one's *metoikion*.⁶ Metics found guilty would be sold into slavery. Finally, metics who were freed slaves could be brought up on a *dikê apostasiou*, a term typically translated as 'the disregard of one's *prostates*' or even 'escape from one's owner,' the penalty for which was a return to slavery under one's former owner. Scholars generally view this particular *dikê*, because of the penalty, as signifying that the freed slaves, although metics, had residual obligations to their former owners and so were not "fully free" and were required by law to have their former owner as their *prostates*. I disagree with this position and find no reliable evidence that freed slaves were obligated to their former owners.⁷ Rather, specific cases of *dikê apostasiou* suggest it was not a case of failure to register a former owner as *prostates*, but a case that involved contesting the act of freeing.⁸ The fact that metics could be liable to this charge in addition to the *graphê apostasiou*, however, suggests just how tenuous was the free status of a metic in classical Athens, even if one was a freeborn metic. ⁹ It also suggests that the nature of the metic population changed over time.

The metic population in Athens consisted of various subgroups who all attained their metic status in different ways. The first group consists of immigrant women who settled in the city either with their families or independently. Many metic women of this type were in Athens if gravestones are any indication.¹⁰ Women from Miletus, Byzantium,¹¹ Samos, Naxos, Eretria, and many other Greek islands and cities lived, died, and were buried in Athens, their place of origin listed on their tombs. Some among this group likely came with family members as political exiles from their own cities or, in some periods,

as the bride of an Athenian citizen. The Thracian mother of Kimon was one such woman. Still more of these metic women immigrated to Athens for economic opportunities. Some of these women may have been prostitutes,¹² although in the epigraphical record we find metic women working as nurses, midwives, woolworkers, and vendors in the markets among other types of employ. These women are frequently hard to distinguish in the sources from slaves who did not immigrate to Athens voluntarily, but who were brought there before or after being freed.¹³

Freed slave women make up another important subgroup among metics. Many of the freed slaves who entered the metic ranks were from other Greek cities, but Athenian slaves were also frequently Persian, Egyptian, Phoenician, Scythian, or Thracian.¹⁴ How did the ethnic identity of the metic population change over time? And did the increase in non-Greek metic women contribute to the drive for legal restrictions on metics? Many classical sources distinguish between slaves and freeborn in such a way that clearly ranks the freeborn as superior. The mark of slavery upon one who had been born to it could not be erased simply through the legal act of manumission. Women were considered, especially in Aristotle, as the equivalent of slaves. If a metic had been born both a woman and a slave, she was born burdened with two conditions that rendered her inferior by nature. Such prejudices likely impacted the treatment of working-class metic women who were more likely to have been born slaves.¹⁵

Another subsection of the metic class were children born to an Athenian citizen man and a non-citizen woman who did not qualify for citizenship at various times during the classical period. We know of a small number of male children who fell into this category of metic because they were later enfranchised, like the son of Perikles by the metic woman Aspasia. These children have been the subject of much scholarly debate, although under the heading of bastardy, because the Athenians distinguished not just between citizen and non-citizen, but also between legitimate and illegitimate.¹⁶ We very rarely hear of the metic daughters of a citizen and metic, although such metics surely existed even if they are hidden from us by lack of evidence.

All of these different groups made up the metic class. The women whom we will encounter in these pages, therefore, are not uniform in their origins or lifestyle. Some were rich, aristocratic exiles, others the wives and daughters of merchants or artisans, others still working-class women who came to Athens for economic opportunity. Some of these women surely worked as prostitutes, but most likely did not.

Many of these women were Greek, but not Athenian. Added to their ranks were freed slaves from all over the Mediterranean and the offspring of Athenian-metic relationships. Whereas some metics were distinctly ‘foreign,’ others might have been born in and lived in Athens their entire lives, the families of some even for generations. They would frequently even be physically indistinguishable from their citizen neighbors. And yet, to those neighbors, the metic was a permanent and perennial immigrant.

Being Foreign

In Athens over the course of the fifth and fourth centuries two impulses potentially drove new restrictions on citizenship. The first impulse arose from the need to define who qualified for the legal privileges being divvied out under the democracy and within the *archê*,¹⁷ privileges like pay for performing public duties, funding to attend public dramas, and grain distributions. The second impulse arose from more general ideas developing over the course of the sixth through fourth centuries of what it meant to be Greek and who counted as ‘foreign.’¹⁸ Greeks could now feel that they formed a distinctive ethnic group. They expressed that shared identity in numerous ways including participation in Panhellenic activities like athletic competitions, shared Panhellenic worship at cult sites like Delphi, Olympia, and Eleusis, a shared cultural heritage tied to the Homeric poems and its mythology, and, of course, a shared language. The feeling was strengthened when some Greek poleis banded together to defend their cities from a Persian invasion in 480 BCE. And yet, amidst all of this shared ‘hellenicity’ there remained centrifugal strands of ethnic ideas that divided Greeks from each other as much as it divided Greeks from non-Greeks. Where as a rhetoric of shared Hellenic identity seems to have functioned well into the fourth century (and was a rallying cry for Alexander to unite the Greek poleis to attack Persia), that rhetoric often competed with polis-centered conceptions of ethnicity.¹⁹ The emphasis on differences between Greek ethnic groups became more pronounced over the course of the fifth century BCE in Athens. They may have played a large role in the development of restrictions and prejudices against metic women.

The creation of the Kleisthenic tribes in Attica in 508/7 BCE marks a

watershed moment in Athenian identity. These tribes served to distinguish Athenians not only from other Greeks, but also from Ionian Greeks, their traditional *ethnos*.²⁰ Named for distinctively Athenian heroes, the tribes bound together the peoples of Attica (and Salamis) in a way that tied them all to the city-center and solidified their identification as Athenian through the overarching figure of Theseus and the new tribe-based political structure.²¹ At the same time, the creation of the demes and the mechanisms for approving citizenship served to define and restrict further who could be an Athenian. The development of the institution of *metoikia* in the 470s and the passage of the Citizenship Law in 451 BCE were part of this continuing process of defining and refining Athenian ethnic identity.²² Both of these refinements make sense within the framework of Athens' *archê* where jurisdiction for legal cases between Athens and her *summachoi* (allies) often was determined by whether an Athenian citizen was involved in the case.²³ In fact, many of the mechanisms the Athenians used to control their allies assumed the subordinate status of the Greeks who were aligned by treaty with Athens. Athenian imperialism seems to have been premised on a type of ethnocentric chauvinism.²⁴ The myth of Athenian autochthony, found fully developed in the years of the Peloponnesian War and immediately following (most explicitly in Euripides' *Ion* and Lysias' funeral oration), sanctioned views of Athenian exceptionalism and ethnic distinctiveness; other Greeks were descended from an Athenian and a foreigner, whereas Athenians themselves came from the very soil of Attica and the gods.²⁵ Importantly, the Athenians defined their autochthony not only mythically as "born of the earth," but also within the terms of indigene.²⁶ As Thucydides points out, even though Athens increased its population in the earliest days through accepting immigrants into the citizen community (διὰ τὰς μετοικίας ἐς τὰ ἄλλα μὴ ὁμοίως αὐξηθῆναι, 1.2.6), Athens alone of other Greek poleis still held its original inhabitants (τὴν γοῦν Ἀττικὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διὰ τὸ ληπτόγεων ἀστασίαστον οὔσαν ἄνθρωποι ὥκ οὐν οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ, 1.2.5).²⁷ Autochthony marked Athenian distinctiveness and laws restricting citizenship elevated and preserved it. The myth of autochthony tied every Athenian to the land. Its emergence as a civic myth supported and supplemented ideologies of citizenship at the same time as the citizen population itself was expanding to include those who were born of Athenian parents, but who did not own land in Attica. To be a citizen did not mean to own land, it meant to be part of the land in perpetuity. A consequence was that metics came to

be defined as perennial immigrants because they were excluded both from citizenship and landownership, a distinction Plato makes explicit in *Menexenus*.²⁸

Lape refers to the type of citizenship that evolved in Athens in the classical period as ‘racial citizenship,’ a term meant to capture the focus on a closed descent group that characterized Athenian attempts to define who could and who could not use the ethnic designation *Athenaios*.²⁹ This type of consanguinity was supported by the autochthony myths and the laws that defined and restricted citizenship by birth. This type of citizenship was premised both on the idea that Athenian blood was superior to that of foreigners’ (other Greeks and non-Greeks alike) and that mixing of Athenian blood with that of foreigners would weaken or make impure the blood of citizens and render those individuals with non-Athenian blood incapable of being good citizens. In order to maintain the appropriate purity, the citizen body was policed. In both myth and in the courts we repeatedly see metic women being subjected to scrutiny, prejudice, and interrogation. It was at the intersection of the metic woman’s gender and ethnicity that the ideology of the citizen was forged. The metic woman was the ultimate Other and the gravest threat to Athenian exceptionalism and democracy. The ideology that attached to metic women and aided the Athenians in policing the borders of citizenship against them found expression in Athens’ public arts and the law. The prejudices that manifested against these women in the courts and other public venues reinforced the Athenians’ beliefs that metics and their offspring should be excluded from citizenship.

The laws of the city changed over time to reflect these attitudes, although they fluctuated as the realities of war and plague forced ideology to the sidelines. The Citizenship Law of 451 BCE limited citizenship to children of two Athenian parents, but was eased between 429 BCE and 403 BCE, only to be fully reinstated in 403 BCE as part of the restoration of the democracy following the reign of the Thirty Tyrants. Before the Citizenship Law, metic women could, and did, marry Athenian men and their children were citizens.³⁰ The *metroxenoi*, as they were called, had complete access to citizenship and some (like Themistokles and Kimon, or Perikles’ father Xanthippos) became very prominent. The Citizenship Law radically changed the marriage options available to metic women even while many wealthy metic families in Athens at mid-century continued to have strong ties to citizen families through earlier marriages, long-standing guest relationships, or business dealings. How did the law

impact these relationships? By 429 BCE, the law's impact was clearly being felt as the Peloponnesian War and the plague took its toll on the population of Athens. There is evidence that children of one Athenian citizen by a metic were able, under certain circumstances, to be considered citizens. Perikles, Jr., the son of Perikles, the author of the Citizenship Law, was one such metic. Demosthenes the orator was the son of another.³¹ The reinstatement of the Citizenship Law in 403 BCE suggests that after the turmoil of the war and the aggressive actions of the Thirty, the Athenians wanted to create a clearly defined citizen body that, for better or worse, excluded metic children. These fluctuations in the fifth century in the status of metics and *metroxenoi*, specifically, must have impacted the social and economic opportunities of metic women and shaped the psychological landscape of the city.

The fourth century saw strict regulations governing metic social and economic opportunities. The precariousness of the metic in law induced many metics to leave the city and few new immigrants chose to bring their families to settle, especially after the Social War of 357–355 BCE.³² Marriage also seems to have been forbidden between metic women and citizen men in the fourth century, pushing them even further to the fringes of Athenian society. And yet, it is in this period that we have the most evidence for metic women as major contributors to the Athenian economy. This book explores how these developments in citizen ideology and the socio-political and economic realities of the city intersected and impacted metic women.

Overview of Chapters

The scope of the book is confined to the period when Athens was an autonomous democracy (roughly 510–322 BCE), the period when citizenship status was at a premium and when repeated attempts to define the non-citizen are most evident. I will keep to this restriction as much as possible, although social, cultural, and economic realities do not always shift in lock step with political or legal realities. Even as early as the 330s, the dynamics that distinguish social life in Hellenistic Athens are already developing. The division between citizen and non-citizen was maintained well into the Hellenistic period as a type of honorific, although the institution of *metoikia* and the

terminology of *metoikia* disappears from the historical record by 300 BCE and seems to have been fading in importance even by the 320s.³³

Chapter 1 reconstructs to the extent possible the legal framework for metics in classical Athens from the origins of *metoikia* through the fifth century in order to make clear the early mechanisms of metic status and the force and impact of the Citizenship Law and its fluctuations. Chapter 2 describes the ideology of the metic woman. Tragedies and material evidence from the fifth century show how metic women were viewed differently in the years before and after the passage of the Citizenship Law. Whereas integration of foreign women into the citizen body was viewed as possible in the years before 451 BCE, in the years following, metic women who transgressed the citizen-metic boundary were vilified and viewed as dangerous. Coinciding with this vilification, however, we see in the material record evidence of metic women participating in and being granted the same markers of womanly *arête* as citizen women—so long, it seems, as they married metic men and gave birth to metic children.

In Chapters 3–5, I examine the various ways that this ideology directly impacted the lives of metic women and our understanding of them. I begin in Chapter 3 by exploring the most prevalent manifestation of the ideology in the figure of the *hetaira* by examining the life of Aspasia within the context of elite citizen politics and art in the fifth century. In Chapter 4, I turn to the issues of the fourth century and the changed legal and social status of metic women as made evident in oratory and comic drama. It is in this period and in these venues that we see the most obvious incarnations of the type of sexual denigration that metic women came to be subject to. Not every metic woman who appears in the legal texts is denigrated, however, as some are held up as victims of citizen malfeasance. One thing that becomes clear is that independent metic women made up a decent portion of the metic population and were vulnerable to exploitation. We also catch glimpses of the everyday lives and activities of many of these same women.

In Chapter 5, I turn to investigating these hints of everyday activities and lives by further incorporating into the discussion numerous material remains such as inscriptions and tomb iconography of specific metic women. Whereas we find in some orations and on stage that metic women might be considered prostitutes by some elites for working as ribbon-sellers, green-grocers, or in other trades, certain types of work performed by metic women were deemed worthy of remembrance and decorated their tombs—midwives, herbalists,

nurses, priestesses of foreign cults, weavers, and shoemakers. I address some of the activities these women may have engaged in and consider why certain professions attracted independent metic women and why women in these professions were the frequent targets of slander and even prosecution.

As a whole, this book aims to give readers an appreciation of the important role metic women played in Athens both as a locus of ethnic and civic anxiety and as an economic and social force. These women were not so minor as Whitehead (and Clerc before him) once deemed them. They should not be viewed only through the point of view of their enemies or detractors either. Their lives were infinitely more complicated than we have allowed in our scholarship and their contributions to Athenian history far more extensive.

Notes

1. Whitehead (1977) 26n.102 and 97. Kamen (2013) 43–61 provides a succinct and updated overview of the primary legal mechanisms for defining the class. She mentions a small number of individual women in her discussion of metics, but is focused primarily on legal exemptions metics were eligible for, none of which metic women could acquire.
2. Bakewell (2013) and (2009) are exceptions to this general rule.
3. It is something of a commonplace in scholarship to assume that metics had little recourse in law against sexual abuse or exploitation (e.g. Posner (1992) 41 and D. Cohen (1991) 182). This may be one contributing reason why many metic women are assumed to be prostitutes. See Chapter 4, this volume, for discussion.
4. These terms mean, in order: equality in taxation with citizens, the right to own land, the right to own a house, and an honorary status marking appreciation to non-citizens who performed service to the state. The Samians and Plataeans are among the only immigrants known to have been granted citizenship as a group.
5. Although it is called a *dikê* in the lexicographers, Meyer (2010) 44–46 argues that *dikê* should be understood as a general term and not specifying a private law suit, instead it was a *graphê*, a public interest case, which anyone could bring. *Graphai*, unlike *dikai*, often involved penalties for failed prosecutors. She cites a number of legal scholars who also classify it as a *graphê*, including MacDowell (1978) and Harrison (1998).
6. The terminology used in a number of cases suggests that the term metic was generally used in the technical sense in the fourth century of someone registered and who paid the *metoikion*. In Dem. 57 (*Against Eubulides*), Euxitheus tends to use the term *xenos* except when referring specifically to the *metoikion* (although at 57.55, the terms *xenos* and *metic* seem to be interchangeable). He also notes a different tax, the *xenika* (57.34), which

seems to be a tax levied on foreigners wishing to sell in the agora and was not the same as the *metoikion*, a tax on the person. Harrison (1968) 188–189 discusses some of the distinctions in terminology in general, whereas MacDowell (1978) 76 lists the *xenika* as distinct from the *metoikia* based on this passage.

7. The best-known twentieth-century proponent of this view is D. M. Lewis who has commented on it in numerous publications. More recently are Kamen (2013) 32–42, Wrenhaven (2012), and Zelnick-Abramovitz (2005). Meyer (2010) is one of the few scholars who has contested this notion that freed slaves held residual obligations to former owners, basing her arguments on a reassessment of the *phialai* inscriptions, one of the primary pieces of evidence scholars use to construct this freedman status (along with emancipation decrees from Hellenistic Delphi). Scholars such as Vlassopoulos in his review of her book (*Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2011.2.48) point to some unanswered questions in her approach to the inscriptions, but arguments for a freedman's status are based almost entirely on post-classical, non-Athenian sources or late evidence that shows clear influence from the Roman practice of manumission.
8. As a *dikê*, this case could only be brought by the harmed party. In most cases that are clearly attested, the prosecutor is an individual attempting to claim ownership of the person. See Chapter 4, this volume, on the specific case of Neaira.
9. See Hunter (2000) 15–26 on penalties of enslavement as status markers.
10. See Chapter 1, this volume, for discussion of the demographics.
11. Use of the ethnic Byzantium does not necessarily mean the person was ethnically Greek. At least one tombstone for a woman from Byzantium is bilingual—Greek and Phoenician. This may suggest Phoenician descent. See Chapter 4, this volume, for the tomb.
12. Reinsberg (1989) 80–86 suggests increased opportunities for prostitution was a primary factor in immigration of independent women to Athens.
13. There is another class of slave that was situated in between metic and slave. These are the not the presumed “freedmen with conditions” (Kamen (2013) 32–42), but more likely are slaves who lived apart from their owner's household (E. Cohen (2000) 145–154, especially), who are often mistaken for freed slaves. Such a woman, Alkê, appears in Isaeus 6. Alkê was the slave of Euthemon and was set up in Kerameikos to run a brothel he owned. She was not free, but was also not subject to the regular supervision slaves of the household had. She ran a business on behalf of her owner.
14. See D. Lewis (2011) on the high number of Near Eastern slaves in Athens. Whether Thracians were considered Greek or not is ambiguous. Clearly, some Thracians, like the royal family, had the ability to marry into Athenian families without trouble. Miltiades' second wife was a Thracian princess.
15. Aristotle's prejudices against women and slaves are also applied to the *banausoi*, even if citizens (*Pol.* 1278a1–2).
16. This is a very thorny subject that I will address where necessary throughout the

book. See Patterson (1990) and Ogden (1996) 32–64 for discussion of the distinction, although I challenge both of their arguments on various points. Kamen (2013) 62–70 provides a brief outline of the major points of contention with bibliography.

17. Commonly translated as ‘empire,’ I prefer to either translate it as ‘hegemony’ or leave it in the Greek in order to avoid anachronisms associated with modern empires.
18. J. Hall (2002) and (1997) makes one of the strongest arguments for the development of Hellenic identity as a result of the Persian Wars. E. Hall (1989) traces a concurrent development of the parallel concept of the ‘barbarian.’ Mitchell (2007) argues for a pre-Persian Wars development of both Panhellenic identity and the ‘barbarian’ Other. Recent scholarship (e.g. Skinner (2012)) has demonstrated that ‘thinking ethnically’ was not a response to the Persian Wars, but is evident in Greek literature and art as soon as they emerge as distinctively ‘Greek’ peoples in the archaic world. Lape (2010) 11 also notes that the Athenians clearly had some concept of themselves as ‘Athenian’ (as opposed to being Greeks) as early as the seventh century.
19. Isocrates’ repeated attempts over the course of many decades to rally the Greeks to unite against Persia instead of fighting each other echoes some of the same pleading less explicitly found in Herodotus. Herodotus and Isocrates’ pleas fell mostly on deaf ears. See Saïd (2001) 275–299 on the rhetoric of identity in the fourth century.
20. Lape (2010) 14–15.
21. Anderson (2003) 123–146.
22. This process continued to become more localized and bound to democratic institutions in the last quarter of the fifth century when demotics became the primary method of identification among citizens. See Meyer (1993).
23. For examples, the Phaselis decree (*IG* 1 3 10).
24. See Raaflaub (2009) on the mechanisms of the *archê*. Raaflaub correctly argues that the mechanisms of power used by the Athenians were borrowed from the Persians. The Athenians treated their allies in much the same way the Persian King treated his subjects. Thucydides was not the first to recognize this; as early as 472 BCE, Aeschylus represents a positive type of imperialism associated with Darius that the Athenians are encouraged to emulate. See Kennedy (2013) for discussion. Root (1985) demonstrates how the Athenians codified this superior-subordinate relationship in the Parthenon frieze, modeled upon the Great Apadana at Persepolis, which showed subjects paying tribute to the King.
25. On *Ion*, see Kennedy (2009) 87–94; Lape (2010) 95–136. For similar representations of autochthony in the *epitaphioi logoi*, see Loraux (1986).
26. See Rosivach (1987) on the development and meaning of autochthony in Athens.
27. Whom Herodotus went so far as to consider non-Greek (Her.1.57).

28. At *Men.* 237b2, Plato's Socrates-Aspasia distinguishes the indigenous Athenians from those who merely dwell on the land (*metoikountas*).
29. Lape (2010) Chapter 1. The concept of racialism is somewhat anachronistic, but the term serves the purpose of capturing what is clearly an issue of consanguinity and decent for the Athenians.
30. Only metic women, not men. It seems that citizenship was not permitted for children of a metic father and citizen mother at any stage.
31. Demosthenes' mother was the child of Gylon, who is supposed to have married a non-Athenian while in exile. She is called a Scythian by Aeschines, but *APF* 122 notes that Kepoi, where Gylon stayed, was a Milesian colony and so she may have been Greek. E. Cohen (2000) 76 accepts her Scythian origins without question.
32. Meyer (2010) 28–58. Whether one agrees with her reassessment of the *phialai* inscriptions or not, her points on the precariousness of metic life in the mid-fourth century are compelling. See also Whitehead (1977) 159–160. Isocrates 8.21 (probably exaggeratingly) declares that metics abandoned the city *en masse* in this period. Not all metics deserted, however, because they still found the benefits of Athens outweighed the costs. Xenophon's *Poroi* is the *locus classicus* for the discussion of metics in the years after the Social War. As Whitehead (1977) 126 remarks, however, he is not offering a reform program to the way metics were treated within Athens, but only “bait to attract metics to Athens.” Xenophon's goal does not really seem to be to fix the precariousness of metic existence, but to attract wealthy, “worthy” metics (i.e. free Greeks), a “metic aristocracy” (127). Meyer (2010) 47–58 discusses a number of specific measures the Athenians may have taken to attract metics in the vein suggested by Xenophon.
33. Whitehead (1977) 164–165. He does note that the title of *isoteles*, taxexempt status, is maintained into the first century, but as an honorific.

1 Metic Women, Citizenship, and Marriage in Athenian Law

The legal status of metic women was not static, but changed repeatedly over the course of the fifth century until it stabilized somewhat in the fourth. This chapter examines the ebbs and flows of metic women's legal status from the origins of *metoikia* in the early fifth century to the ban on marriage between metic women and citizen men in the early fourth. This chapter provides a framework for the chapters that follow by addressing the status of metics in general, how women's status within the metic community differed from that of metic men, and how laws regarding marriage and citizenship specifically impacted metic women.

The Origins of *Metoikia*

Opportunities for metic women and their children in Athens fluctuated greatly over the course of the fifth and fourth centuries in Athens. Although immigrants likely came to the city in small numbers in the sixth and early fifth centuries, it was not until the 460s that they were granted an official status in law. *Metoikia* is the term used to denote the formal, legal status for resident foreigners in classical Athens. According to Aristophanes of Byzantium (third century CE) it classified foreign residents who had been in the city for longer than a specified time and who were subject to the metic tax (*metoikion*).¹ In the fourth century, the status further required registration of individuals and families with the *polemarch*, the official charged with maintaining the metic lists and in whose court metics could have disputes heard. Metics in the fourth century were also subject to a series of criminal prosecutions that were unique to them such as the *graphê aprostasiou*, failure to register and pay the *metoikion*. The metic, according to Aristotle, was also required to have a citizen *prostates* to stand for them in the courts.²

Although many scholars have dated the establishment of *metoikia* to the reforms of Kleisthenes in 508/7 BCE, problems with this view remain. It is based on the new deme structure created by Kleisthenes

and on links recognized between metics and demes found in the fourth century. ³ In the fourth century, metics were registered in a deme and are frequently listed as “dwelling in” a deme on records. The evidence is primarily a retrojection of later evidence back onto the Kleisthenic period and lacks any contemporary or near contemporary evidence.

Geoff Bakewell discusses in detail the problems with evidence used to date the institution to the Kleisthenic period, including *IG I³ 1357* (Kerameikos I.388/SEG 22.79), the Themistokles decree (ML 23), and Aristotle *Politics* 1275b36-37.⁴ The Aristotle passage is decidedly anachronistic and so can be no proof for a late sixth- to early fifth-century institution. Baba has argued concerning *IG I³ 1357*, an inscription on a grave monument for Anaxilas the Naxian, that *metaoikon* be read instead of *meteoikon*, as it had originally been read.⁵ Baba further argues that with this change the term *metaoikon* can clearly be understood as the technical term for a resident alien in Athens as early as 510 BCE.⁶ The arguments, however, as Bakewell makes clear, are unconvincing and Whitehead's earlier assertion still seems the most plausible interpretation; the word was being used in a non-technical sense to denote not his status upon death, but only his resting place relative to his home on Naxos.⁷ Finally, the Themistokles decree does not even mention metics, but “*xenoi* living within Athens” (τοὺς ξένο[υ]ς τοὺς οἰκοῦντας Ἀθήνησι; 7) or “those *xenoi* registered with the *polemarch*” (τοὺς] δεξί[έν]ους ἐκ τῶν ἀπογεγραμμένων πρ[ο]ῦ τοῦ [πολε]μ[άρ]χ[ου]. 31-32). Scholars have taken the phrase “registered with the *polemarch*” to imply a formal institution, although the term *polemarch* itself is heavily restored (all but two letters) and the language of *metoikia* does not appear at all.⁸ At the most, one can suggest that *xenoi* who lived in the city were expected to register their names. We do not know if they were registered with a deme, as in the fourth century, or if they simply received permission and informed the *polemarch* that they were residing in the city. There is no evidence at all of a tax or even a formal legal status. Other scholars, therefore, have argued that a formal status for metics in Athens did not evolve until the late 470s or early 460s (or even as late as 451 BCE) and did so only under the increased pressure of immigration to Athens in the years following the Persian Wars. Cynthia Patterson writes:

It seems plausible that the mid-fifth century saw significant development in the main features of the classical status of resident foreigners, such as the requirement of registration with a deme, the guarantee of legal rights or

institution of the *metoikon*. This may have been part of the Periklean legislation, or the result of it, or perhaps in anticipation of it, but in any case, it makes sense in the same context in which we have viewed Perikles' citizenship law.⁹

The evidence from inscriptions and other contemporary sources seems to support this view.

The first known reference in the epigraphic evidence to *metoikia* as a distinctive political status is *IG I³ 244*, which contains laws for ritual observance in the deme of Scambonidae.¹⁰ The inscription is dated by D. M. Lewis to around 460 BCE and clearly differentiates between the citizen members of the tribe and a group called metics.¹¹ Almost contemporary with this inscription is Aeschylus' *Suppliants*, which has the earliest known usage of the various terms associated with *metoikia*. According to Bakewell's arguments (which I address in detail in [Chapter 2](#)), the link made in the play between the terminology and the explicit rights allotted metics as part of their status suggests that the concept must have already developed. It is unlikely that Aeschylus invented a new legal category himself. But it is also unlikely that such explicit reference to the mechanics of an institution would have been necessary if *metoikia* had been established and functioning for four decades previously. It seems most likely that during the 460s, the formal status of *metoikia* emerged out of legislative actions addressing legal status for allies and citizens in the *archê*,¹² whereas the Citizenship Law of 451 BCE was one of the earliest refinements of the status once it had been established for a period of time and its implications more developed.¹³

The Periklean Citizenship Law of 451 BCE

In 451 BCE, the Athenian assembly passed a law that, as far as we know, stated simply that all Athenian citizens must be born of two Athenian citizen parents. It is unclear what motivated the law; in fact, there must have been multiple motivations. Cynthia Patterson has pointed to an increase in immigration to Athens in the years between 480–451 BCE and the increased attempts by the Athenians to distinguish themselves from other Greeks, a necessity given the development of their *archê* and of laws that set different penalties and jurisdiction for violations involving Athenian citizens.¹⁴ Other scholars

have considered it to be an anti-aristocratic law aimed at clamping down on dynastic marriages among the Athenian elite to foreign kings and aristocrats or as targeting specific political families in Athens.¹⁵ The memory of Peisistratos and his Eretrian-financed takeover of Athens and of his son Hippias' appearance with the Persian army at Marathon perhaps lingered still in the public psyche.

There may also have been a more populist impulse behind the law. Craftsmen and merchants from the Aegean and beyond poured into Athens to work as ship-builders, or to take advantage of Athens' harbors and increased Mediterranean trade, or to work on the various public building programs that were launched in the 470s. Perhaps Athenian craftsmen and merchants felt as if they required guarantees that these foreigners—other Greeks, Phoenicians, Egyptians, etc.—were not going to take over their businesses or dilute their citizen benefits. These benefits were increasing after the 460s, benefits such as pay for jury duty, pay for assembly work, grain distributions, and subsidies for the theatre.¹⁶ There may also have been a little bit of fear on the part of Athenians that immigrants to Athens, especially political exiles with some wealth who looked to settle more permanently, would marry their daughters to Athenians, diminishing marriage prospects for their own daughters. There are a variety of reasons why the law was written and passed.

All this speculation on Athenian motivations must be understood within the context of the evolution of ethnographic thinking in the fifth century and the circumstances that led Greeks to distinguish more precisely between both themselves and non-Greeks and between Greeks and other Greeks. Whereas most scholars see the drive towards a Panhellenic identity as essential to the fifth century, the evidence of the failure of any coherent concept of Greekness actually emerging permeates Herodotus, the local historians and genealogists, Athenian public art, and inter-polis practices especially between the 460s and 370s. The Citizenship Law was another manifestation of the tension between being Greek and being of a certain polis. Whatever Panhellenism the Persian Wars may have engendered in the Greeks, the Athenian *archê* moved a long way towards suppressing it, at least in Athens.

Patterson links the Citizenship Law to increased immigration and suggests that the establishment of *metoikia* was also related. It is nearly impossible, however, to establish whether mass immigration occurred at a scale where it could have been the primary factor, especially with respect to the numbers and immigration patterns for

metic women. The demographics of the period between 480–450 BCE are tenuous at best and Patterson gives what is still the most thorough attempt at reckoning citizen numbers (and total population by extension) in Athens in this period.¹⁷ According to her analysis, the Athenian citizen population doubled between 480–450 BCE, in no small part due to “non-natural increase,” meaning immigrants being admitted into the ranks of citizens.¹⁸ If we believe Duncan-Jones’ analysis using the same statistics for numbers of metics, the total male metic population in Athens around the beginning of the Peloponnesian War in 431 BCE was roughly 12,000,¹⁹ although Whitehead notes that this was likely the high point and numbers in the fourth century after the war never again reached this level.²⁰

Duncan-Jones’ number does not include women or men beyond military age and so we should consider what bearing this has on our subject. Whitehead says that women would not noticeably impact the number much because, “the number of such women was small,” especially of independent metic women.²¹ And yet this is precisely the population that was most affected by the Citizenship Law, more so than any Athenian family or metic man. Can we say anything about the number of metic women in Athens in this period and why a law primarily affecting them and their children would be passed?

In the middle of the fifth century, Athens was thriving, a developing economic center and a regional hegemon. It would make sense for large numbers of people looking for work to be drawn to it, even independent women who might find work as prostitutes, nurses, musicians, or other professions. If we imagine that the Citizenship Law was designed to address a problem of increased numbers of foreign women (the only logical target of the law), then it is reasonable to imagine a surge in immigration by women. We lack, however, corroborating evidence for mass immigration of metic women to Athens. There is no epigraphical evidence for such immigration until the second century BCE, when we find a sharp increase in the number of tombs for metic women.²² Before that, attestation for foreign women on tombs indicates that whereas the percentage is larger than Whitehead seems to grant when he dismisses their impact on metic ideology among Athenians, metic women still never made up more than a quarter to a third of the total population of metics in Athens. The number was likely closer to only one-tenth in the first half of the fifth century.

If the purpose of the law was not to deter large numbers of metic women from entering the city, why pass a law that most impacted

them? The problem is more acute if Osborne is correct to suggest that the law codified the fact that marriage between Athenians and non-Athenians even among aristocrats had tapered off by the middle of the fifth century.²³ However, there still seems to have been inter-marriage with non-Athenians both in the period preceding the law and after. The law seems to have done more to justify social prejudice than to change marriage patterns among Athenians. In fact, marriage between citizens and metics does not seem to have been banned by the law.

It is a much-disputed question whether the Citizenship Law banned marriage between metic women and citizen men. Kapparis notes that the scope of the law is unclear:

Some scholars argue that the legislation was quite extensive, others, I think rightly, argue that this was a simple, clear-cut piece of legislation with defined objectives. According to the existing evidence, the only statement certainly included in this law was that a person could be an Athenian citizen only if the father and mother were Athenian.²⁴

The majority of scholars who write on the family or social life in classical Athens assume that a ban on marriage between citizens and metics was part of the law, thus making any metic woman incapable of marriage except with another metic as early as 451 BCE.²⁵ There is no evidence for a ban from fifth-century sources. The first evidence of a ban comes from [Dem.] 59 in the 340s. Further, exceptions to the Citizenship Law during the years of the Peloponnesian War suggest that there were not only still legally recognized mixed marriages in Athens, but children from these marriages. If these children were not the product of a legitimate marriage, the granting of citizenship to them would have been more problematic and controversial than the sources suggest.

War, Plague, and Exceptions to the Rules

Between 430 and 403 BCE, changes were made to the Citizenship Law. It is not clear precisely what the changes were. There seem to be at least two phases of exceptions that were enacted as a result of hardships resulting first from the plague and then the Sicilian disaster. Debate on the first phase centers on Perikles and his family. In 429

BC, in the wake of the plague and the first two years of war losses, Perikles seems to have proposed a loophole that would allow his free born child by a metic woman to inherit (and be made a citizen) because both of his citizen children had died in the plague (Plut. *Per.* 37). Although most scholars have imagined the Periklean instance was a singular exception made for Perikles, Perikles was not alone in having a son who was not a citizen nor is Perikles Jr. the only enfranchised child of a citizen-metic marriage of whom we know. Kapparis suggests that the law

. . . just stopped being observed in practice. When war and plague had devastated most households, the Athenians would rather legitimize their children of mixed unions than be deprived of heirs and the city in these circumstances did nothing to stop these men entering the citizen body.²⁶

Carawan, however, has argued quite persuasively that Perikles' exception was a general law designed to protect the inheritances of citizen families because of the devastating effects of the plague and the war.²⁷ Thus, it was envisioned that any Athenian citizen man who had lost all his *gnesioi* (legitimate citizen) children to the plague or the war could have his legitimate child from a metic woman made a citizen and named heir. Carawan's argument for this general legal exemption provides not only for understanding Perikles' situation less ironically (or without the moral judgment that frequently accompanies mention of it),²⁸ but also makes clearer Demosthenes' response to slanders of his "Scythian-born" mother and Euxitheus' argument at Dem. 57.30 that their parents were born at a time when one only needed one citizen parent for citizenship.²⁹ Demosthenes' mother Kleoboulê was born between 430–420 BCE. Although her birth to a nonAthenian mother might have been used against him to create audience bias by Aeschines decades later, it neither prevented him (nor his mother) from being recognized as citizens nor was it a seemingly effective slander even in the mid-fourth century. Whereas the law of 451 BCE may have created effective barriers to metic-citizen marriage, the law did not explicitly ban them and such marriages must have continued to take place, as Perikles' own relationship to Aspasia attests.³⁰ Their son Perikles' enfranchisement and subsequent career was premised on known parentage and recognition by Perikles' deme. If Aspasia was not his wife and if Kleoboulê's mother was not also a wife to Demosthenes' grandfather, and Euxitheus' father and mother not married, it would have been far more challenging to persuade the Athenians to grant them inheritance and citizenship

rights. Further, when we accept that citizen-metic marriage was still legal and practiced until the fourth century, we can unravel some of the other confusions that have arisen from our ancient evidence concerning bigamy and concubinage after the Sicilian disaster in 412/411 BCE.

The second phase of exceptions to the Periklean law has been the most widely accepted and also the most controversial in terms of what these exceptions entailed. There is no question that an exception was made allowing an Athenian citizen man to have citizen children with someone other than a citizen wife. There is a question over what form the relationship took. Some scholars follow evidence from Diogenes Laertius that bigamy was permitted between 412 and 403 BCE.³¹ Other scholars suggest that the exceptions to the law allowed a citizen man to keep a metic concubine (*pallakê*) in addition to his wife in order to bear him legitimate children.³² Other evidence, however, suggests that the exceptions to the Citizenship Law that took place after 412 BCE more likely allowed all children born to a citizen man (unless, perhaps, they were born to slaves) to be enrolled as citizens. It no longer required the death of children born to citizen women. This is clearly implied by Euxitheus' statement about his father.³³

Whatever the precise terms of the exemptions, they were needed. There must have been citizen men who already had children by metic women whom they wanted to have made citizens, as in the case of Perikles. Even if we discount Diogenes' interpretation as bigamy, his reasoning based on "the shortage of men" requires us to imagine that Athenian men responded to the manpower shortage following the Sicilian disaster by seeking out non-citizen women to have children with. They then must have hoped that the child would live long enough for it to come of age to enter the war (in two decades)—hardly a strategy for a present crisis. More realistically, there were already other children (like Perikles Jr. earlier) who were almost of age to assume their place on the citizen rolls. Children born in the years just after the 451 BCE law's passage would have come of military age shortly after 430 BCE and would have been admitted to citizenship under the earlier exception. Their presence in the Assembly and military after the Sicilian disaster may have eased the way for passing legislation that opened up the exception even further. The pressures of plague and war plus the existence of citizen men's children of age or almost of age to assume military and civic responsibilities could have made an exception to the law a logical step for alleviating some of the strains on the city and on families. It is difficult to imagine, however,

that those children would have been granted citizenship if their parentage on both sides was not known and if the relationship of the mother to the father was not securely established.

The fifth- and fourth-century evidence on the Citizenship Law seems to show, then, that the law passed in 451 BCE banned citizenship for *metroxenoi*, but most likely did not ban marriage between metic women and citizen men. In 430/429 BCE, a law was passed allowing children from these mixed marriages to assume citizenship and inheritance under the extreme circumstance of the death of all citizen heirs and there were at least some children from such marriages already of age to take advantage. Then, after the Sicilian disaster and the massive loss of life it entailed, a more general exception was made that allowed children from mixed marriages to be citizens without restriction. It is likely that there would have been, again, a number of such children already coming of age or born, especially given the exception already made in 430 BCE. These fluctuations in the law would have seriously impacted both the marriage prospects and the status of the children of metic women.³⁴ Before 451 BC, if metic women married citizens, their children were citizens. After 451 BCE, however, this was no longer easily possible. But that does not mean metic women no longer engaged in relationships with citizen men, as the example of Perikles and Aspasia makes clear. Otherwise, the 430 BCE loophole would not have been necessary and the further liberalization after Sicily would also not have happened.³⁵

The 403 BCE Reinstatement and Banning Marriage

After the Thirty Tyrants were removed from power and the democracy restored in 403 BCE, two laws were passed pertaining to inheritance and citizenship. The first, the decree of Aristophon, “proposed that anyone not born of a citizen woman should be declared a bastard (*nothos*).”³⁶ The second, proposed by Nikomenes, reinstated the law of Perikles that only those born of two citizen parents should “participate in the city.”³⁷ This law was not made retroactive, but only included those children born after 403 BCE.³⁸ These two laws make clear that the relationships under scrutiny were those of metic women to citizen men and, in a double-pronged attack, the children of such

relationships were made both bastards (they could not inherit) and non-citizens. The effect of the laws seems to have been to reverse the two exceptions that had been made during the preceding decades that would allow the children of a metic woman to be a citizen and to be the legal heir of an Athenian's property. It is possible that the combination of these two laws has led scholars to confuse legitimacy for inheritance and citizenship³⁹ and, as a result, assume that marriage was banned as part of the Citizenship Law. However, the fact that it took two laws to undo the exceptions suggests that citizenship and inheritance did not necessarily go hand in hand. The two laws, in fact, still imagine a scenario where a legitimate child could be born to a metic woman and a citizen man and so places restrictions on the rights and status of that child. Thus, whereas the Periklean Law was reinstated in 403 BCE and the child in addition legally deemed a *nothos*, it is unclear if marriage was even yet banned.⁴⁰ If marriage was not banned in 451 BCE or again in 403 BCE, then when exactly was it banned?

Other than the legal case against Neaira in [Dem.] 59, which is premised on marriage between citizen and metic being illegal, there are only hints elsewhere as to when such a law went into effect. Kapparis argues that a date in the 380s is most plausible and I would agree that sometime between 390 and 371 BCE is most likely.⁴¹ Some indirect evidence that this is a reasonable date is found in [Dem.] 59 where Apollodoros is very sure to date the time when Stephanos went to Megara and met Neaira by saying that it was just after the battle of Leuktra (371 BCE). This suggests that he would expect his audience to know that at that time specifically, Stephanos had proposed something illegal, i.e., that Neaira could be his wife. So, sometime before 371 BCE is a likely inference. Kapparis suggests that the ban was enacted because of problems arising from children born to legitimate marriages whose other family members were probably citizens.⁴² Because it was already difficult to prove citizen status, especially for women, in the twenty years after the reactivation of the Citizenship Law, there would be a number of women coming of age in the 380s who might have been passed off as citizens for marriage purposes (as Apollodoros argues happened with Phano in [Dem.] 59). If these non-citizens had citizen fathers and older siblings, passing them off would have not been too difficult given that citizenship was based not on birth records, but on witness testimony. Therefore, Kapparis suggests that it was anxiety over such pretenses and also part and parcel of the reorganization and revision of naturalization laws in the same decade

that led to the marriage ban.⁴³ Again, as with the original passage of the Citizenship Law and subsequent exceptions, we perhaps see a restructuring or tweaking of the law as needed after the full implications of the law became known, something that usually would not happen until the first generation born under the law came of age. In order to ensure that fewer such non-citizens were making their way onto the citizen rolls, marriage between metics and citizens, already discouraged in 403 BCE, would now be outlawed.

Marriage Alternatives?

The difficulty in pinning down a date for the ban is, in part, a problem of alternatives. If metic women could no longer marry citizens, that would restrict them to metic marriages. I will argue later that metic women were openly encouraged to maintain relationships with other metics through the use of praise and shame practices, but this does not always mean that the boundary between metic and citizen was not crossed. The consequences of such miscegenation are explored throughout [Chapters 2–4](#). It is possible, nevertheless, that alternative relationships for metic women with citizen men developed in the fourth century, which resulted both from the increase in independent metic women in the city and from the ban on marriage and restrictions on citizenship. The fourth century is when the epigraphic record shows an increase in the number of metic women in Athens at the same time as we find an increase in representations of women in literary sources who are neither married nor citizens. These women are most often referred to by scholars as *hetairai* and considered types of prostitutes. Another term that appears to refer to women is *pallakê* (or *pallakis*). These women, too, have been sometimes considered a type of prostitute, but other scholars have argued that *pallakia* was a marriage alternative, mostly for metic women, but also for undowered Athenian citizens.

Pallakê is a term that appears in a number of fourth-century orations connected to a law of Drakon that defines a type of woman kept by a man for the purposes of bearing free children (Dem. 23.25). These women were also apparently provided an agreement that spelled out protections and benefits for the woman in the relationship, whatever the nature of the relationship may be (Is. 3.39). Sealey (and Wolff

before him) has argued that *pallakia* was something that poorer citizen women regularly participated in as an undowered union that still offered formal status and protection to the women (as citizens) and whose children would still be citizens despite being born outside of formal marriage (*engue-ekdosis*). Although Patterson and those following her cannot imagine a situation in which such a domestic partnership could ensue,⁴⁴ the thirty years of the Peloponnesian War and the plague likely resulted in any number of women left without a dowry and, perhaps, without a *kurios*. But that is not the only situation or perhaps the most common situation where *pallakia* arose. Although *pallakia* was occasionally an alternate form of marriage for citizen women without dowry or *kurios*, it was more likely, as both Mossé and Patterson argue, a legal arrangement between metics and citizens. The Athenian evidence does not support a view that it was a widespread practice and the evidence even strongly suggests that the practice of *pallakia* envisioned in the law of Drakon was not practiced in the fifth century.⁴⁵ Instead, I suggest that the union recognized in Athenian law to which fourth-century orators refer was one in which metic women could be in legally recognized relationships and bear free children with Athenian men while still being excluded (whether implicitly or explicitly) from formal marriage and so be in compliance with both Aristophon's and Nikomenes' decrees. This marriage alternative, I suggest, developed in the years after 403 BCE and was based on the earlier, but defunct or rarely utilized practice of the Archaic period, and allowed metic women to have legally protected relationships with citizen men if they wished.⁴⁶ This does not mean, however, that the relationship was given the respect or status of marriage or that the children of these relationships were considered anything but *nothoi*. It was a lower-status relationship and the women involved were treated as such socially and legally. This treatment was a result of prejudices associated with the changes in Athenian marriage law and further encouraged social prejudice and stigma against these women.

Conclusion

Unusually among women, the metic woman, especially the independent metic woman, had a political as well as social

designation. To be a metic woman was to be subject to taxes and to the law courts in ways that no citizen woman ever would be. To be a metic woman was to belong to a distinctive political class. As potential bearers of citizen children, these women, then, had to be restricted, even if their numbers were small. Thus was born the Citizenship Law of 451 BCE. Its resulting fluctuations over the course of the classical period not only impacted the social mobility and economic status of immigrant women in Athens, but the debates surrounding these laws likely engendered a discourse concerning these women as potential mothers and wives that led to social prejudices that manifested not only as sexual slanders, but as charges of impiety and even witchcraft. In the chapters that follow, I explore both the development and effects of these prejudices, but also the underlying reality of the women whose lives were so central to Athenian citizen identity, but only through their exclusion from the citizen body.

Notes

1. Nauck Fr. 38.
2. *Politics* 1275a7–14. As Patterson (2000) 95 n.6 notes there are few references to a *prostates* in surviving cases involving metics. The *prostates* of Zobia is explicitly mentioned at Dem. 25.58 as standing for her in court.
3. For example, Whitehead (1977), *APF*, and Manville (1990) 177–185, although Manville places the origins of the concept of legally restricting foreigners to Solon (134–136). Evidence typically provided for the link is Aristotle *Politics* 1275b36–37. Whitehead (1977) 151 calls Kleisthenes' actions “a (mere) blueprint for metic status, to be realized by later *ad hoc* legislation.”
4. Bakewell (1997) 219–226 and (2013) 19–20.
5. Baba (1984).
6. Baba also re-dates the inscription to around 506 BCE in order to support the view that *metoikia* was created as a part of the Kleisthenic reforms.
7. Bakewell (1997) 221; Whitehead (1977) 64 n.44.
8. The Themistokles decree (ML 23, *SEG* 22.274) seems to be part of a fourth-century restatement of a Persian Wars decree (480 BCE) on mobilization of Athenian forces and at one point concerns the composition of the fleet from deme-registers that Meiggs and Lewis connect to an invocation of the law by Aeschines in 348 BCE, although *SEG* dates the actual inscription to the period between 300–265 BCE. The individuals often said to be metics are the τοὺς δὲ . ξ[έν]ους ἐκ τῶν ἀπογεγραμμένων πα-[ρ]ὰ τῶι [πολε]μ[άρχ]ῳ [ι] (30–31). Whereas this clearly indicates that there were foreigners registered into the demes, this does not mean that they were technically metics or that *metoikia* existed as of yet.

9. Patterson (1981) 134–135. Patterson (2000) 95 does not reassert this claim, but bases her own discussion of metics in court on Whitehead's view only. It is unclear if she changed her position on the origins of *metoikia*.
10. Fasc. 3 11 6–9 $\text{he}[\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\omicron\iota]/\Sigma\kappa\alpha\mu\beta\omicron\nu\iota[\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota]/\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\iota[\omicron\varsigma\ \lambda\alpha\chi\iota]/\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}\nu$.
11. D. M. Lewis *IG* I³.
12. There is a series of decrees passed in the years between 470 and 454 BCE that specified the rights of allies and citizens in Athenian courts throughout the *archê*. The Phaselis decree is dated most likely to the 460s and specifically addresses legal jurisdiction for the Phaselans in Athens (8–10). The Chalcis decree (*IG* I² 39) also makes such accommodations. It is typically dated to around 446 BCE, but it is the renewal of an earlier decree that likely dates back to the 460s. The development of metic status in the city seems best situated within this legislative framework. See Kennedy (2006) 50–67 on Aeschylus' *Eumenides* and the developments of legal status for allies in this period.
13. See also Watson (2010) who argues that *metoikia* was not officially created until 451 BCE as part of the Citizenship Law itself. He prefers to read the status allotted the Danaiids in *Suppliants* as addressing concerns of the audience that had not yet been articulated in law (270). Bakewell's view of *Suppliants* as a charter myth for the law is more likely.
14. Patterson (1981) is still the most comprehensive discussion of the law.
15. See Patterson (1981) 3–7 for references.
16. Some scholars have connected the law to the scrutiny of 446/5 BCE that accompanied the distribution of grain to citizens, but Diller (1932) 204 argues that the scrutiny was likely not the result of a decree, but was handled piecemeal through the *graphê xenias*. Only in 346/5 BCE with the decree of Demophilus did such a legislated scrutiny of the citizen registers begin.
17. Patterson (1981) 40–81. Duncan-Jones (1981) attempted to gauge the number of metics by 431 BCE using references in Thucydides in conjunction with the Princeton life tables. See also Watson (2010) 261–262. Akrigg (2011) questions many of the basic premises for demographic studies in earlier scholarship because the numbers most frequently relied upon are troop counts found in Thucydides, Herodotus, or other historians.
18. Patterson (1981) 70.
19. Duncan-Jones (1981).
20. Whitehead (1977) 98.
21. Whitehead (1977) 97. According to Vestergaard (2000) 87–88, metic women make up only 14 percent of attested foreigners on tombs in the fifth century, but that number increases to 34 percent in the fourth century. Vestergaard remarks that Corinthian women already outnumbered Corinthian men in fifth-century Athens at a ratio of 6 to 1, although the evidence is limited. His conclusion is that metic women made up a larger portion of the metic population from the fourth century onward. This may be because in the years following the Social War, we see evidence that metic merchants and other

metics important to the economy left Athens because of the strict laws, whereas women of independent status stayed behind. See Chapter 4, this volume, for discussion of the fourth-century legal status of metics.

22. Vestergaard (2000) 87–88 notes that between the second century BCE and the second century CE, foreign women (no longer called metics because the *metoikia* was abolished in the third century) make up nearly 50 percent of attested foreigners in Athens.
23. R. Osborne (1997) 4–11.
24. Kapparis (1999) 22.
25. Whereas Patterson (1981) does discuss the scope of the law, her reasons for assuming a broad scope for the law are summed up most clearly in Patterson (1990) where she, like Ogden (1996), discusses Athenian *nothoi* (bastards). This view seems to permeate most scholarship on marriage and family. In his discussion of the Periklean Citizenship Law and its impact, Ogden (1996) 61–62 casually notes that Perikles' son by Aspasia was of course a bastard “since Perikles was not married to Aspasia.” He goes on to state that the law “must have effectively if not explicitly banned *enguê* with non-citizens” because his view of bastardy stresses the link between inheritance and citizenship. He argues that many citizens even prior to 451 BCE considered *metroxenoi* to be *nothoi*. And yet, the evidence of many *metroxenoi* not only being a part of Athenian civic life throughout the first half of the fifth century, but even after the passage of the Citizenship Law suggests other-wise—social prejudice does not equal a legal reality. The idea of a marriage ban is most often questioned in scholarship on metics, such as Bakewell (2009).
26. Kapparis (1999) 27.
27. Carawan (2008).
28. Especially if we consider the Cratinus play *Nemesis* that Ogden suggests was the source for Plutarch's story at *Per.* 37. On Demosthenes' mother, see Chapter 4.
29. In both cases, the parents could not have been born before 430 BCE. Ogden (1996) 76 concedes that the Citizenship Law was likely revoked towards the very end of the war, although only sometime between 412 and 403 BCE.
30. We have no evidence that they were not married, but ample indirect evidence that they were. See Chapter 3, this volume, for further discussion.
31. Diogenes Laertius *Lives* 2.26 says concerning Socrates that the Athenians allowed multiple marriages “wanting to increase their multitude on account of their shortage of men, and decreed that one might marry one citizen and have children also from another . . .” (φασι γὰρ βουλευθέντας Ἀθηναίους διὰ τὸ λειπανδρεῖν συναυξῆσαι τὸ πλῆθος, ψηφίσασθαι γαμεῖν μὲν ἄσπῃ μίαν, παιδοποιεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρας). Ogden also cites Aulus Gellius NA 15.20 as evidence for a law allowing bigamy and reads Andokides' rather sordid representation of Kallias as evidence for legal bigamy. The point of Andokides' attack in *On the Mysteries* is to paint Kallias as a man who acts contrary to accepted social norms because of his sexual desires. It is difficult to take the story of his two wives as evidence for a law allowing it when the point of the story is to show just how depraved Kallias was.

32. In addition to the Diogenes, scholars also point to plays like Euripides' *Andromache* and references in fourth-century oratory to a *pallakê* for the purposes of legitimate children (Dem. 23.25) who were protected as far back as Drakon under the city's adultery laws.
33. Also, the woman Kallipê of Isaeus 6 (dated to 364 BCE) may have been a metic woman from Lemnos (6.13) whose father served and died in the Sicilian expedition. She would have married Euktemon around this time (412 BCE): another casually mentioned example of a child born of a citizen-metic marriage.
34. Citizen-metic marriage was always asymmetrical: the union of a metic man and citizen woman never produced a citizen child. Giving one's citizen daughter to a metic husband was deemed as bad as selling her into slavery.
35. See Ogden (1996) 70–74 and Carawan (2008).
36. Ath. *Deip.* 577bc = Karystios *FGrH* 358 F11.
37. Scholiast on Aeschines 1.39 = Eumelos *FGrH* 77 F2. I would suggest that this reinstatement was part of the legal amnesia that came with restoration of the democracy. A number of metic and even slave families were entered onto the decimated citizenship roles towards the end of the war (such as the Samians and the slaves who fought at Arginusae). Once these additions were made, there would be no need to make exceptions for offspring of mixed unions; they were likely already added. See Ogden (1996) 70–77.
38. Schol. Aesch. 1.39 = Eumelos *FGrH* 77 F2. The text of Nikomenes' law states clearly that it was not retroactive. It is safe to assume that Aristophanes' was not retroactive either.
39. This conflation is one of the reasons Sealey (1984) posits *pallakia* as a marriage alternative for undowered citizen women. Ogden (1996) and Patterson (1990) grapple with the interrelationship between inheritance and citizenship as well, but there seems no easy solution and, given the nature of Athenian law, it seems that the question of inheritance was not so clearly tied to citizenship as we might think at first, nor were the laws governing it even clear to the Athenians at times. Isaeus seems to be particularly well versed in inheritance law, but even his and Demosthenes' speeches that deal in inheritance are confused and occasionally erroneous.
40. See Kapparis (1999) and Bakewell (2009) for discussion.
41. Kapparis (1999) 26–27.
42. Children like Aristogeiton's sister (Dem. 25) whom he attempted to sell into slavery for not registering as a metic, perhaps. See Chapter 4, this volume.
43. Kapparis (1999) 202. See M. Osborne (1983) on enfranchisement restriction in the fourth century. It seems clear that the Athenians more strictly guarded citizenship from the 380s onward and even tightened restrictions on metic activities mid-century to the point where there were not sufficient numbers of metic merchants and other professions essential to the Athenian economy.
44. Patterson (1991).
45. Mossé (1991) and Patterson (1991). Both envision *pallakia* as a development

from the type of concubinage associated with war captives in the Homeric stories, but (as I argue in Chapter 4, this volume) I disagree that it was a servile relationship that slaves could participate in. Part of the confusion results from the use of ‘concubine’ to translate the term.

46. This is not, however, the only contractual relationship the term *pallakia* could signify. See Chapter 5, this volume, for further discussion.

2 The Ideology of the Metic Woman

Mythical Metic Women

Before attempting to explore the lives of historical metic women in classical Athens, I begin first with mythical representations of metic/foreign women in fifth-century Athenian tragedy. There are two reasons for this. First, the earliest uses of the terms for metics (*metoikia*, *metoikos*, etc.) are found in the tragedies of Aeschylus, while Sophocles' *Antigone* imagines her living death in terms of *metoikia*, and women who would qualify as metics in the minds of the Athenian audience appear in a number of plays by Euripides. In fact, tragedy is the only contemporary literary evidence for metic women in the fifth century as metics and can be valuable evidence despite Pomeroy's dismissal:

I believe it is also necessary to avoid drawing conclusions about Greek women of the Classical period from the depiction of Bronze Age heroines in Greek tragedy. Tragedies have been examined to provide insights into the attitudes of particular poets towards women—in them a poet reveals his ideals and fantasies about women—but tragedies cannot be used as an independent source for the life of average women.¹

It is a mistake to view the women of tragedy as pure reflections of a heroic past as if it were a mirror of the Bronze Age instead of a repurposing of those stories for a new audience. There are certainly idealizations with tragedy, but myth should always be understood as imbued with the attitudes and viewpoints of the period in which they are produced, not as some sort of constant, stable entity.² Furthermore, the idealizations and fantasies found reflected in tragedies had a direct impact on the lives of average women, metic and citizen alike—they lived subjected to these ideologies in many instances. Tragedy is thus a vital contemporary source for understanding the lives of metic women. Outside of tragedy, we have primarily later historical references to women who lived in the period by authors such as Plutarch and Athenaeus. The first discussions of what metic status constituted besides tragedy occur only in the fourth century. Thus, it is from these plays (with the addition of one

inscription) that we can discern the earliest meaning attributed to metic status and how women figured into the institutionalization of metic status because most metic characters within the plays are women.

Second, whereas myth can tell us very little about the actual lived experiences of metics the way inscriptions and oratory perhaps can, myth can give us something Whitehead denies exists—an ideology of the female metic. Because the majority of metics in tragic myth are women, we should try to understand the importance of metic women in the development of metic status. After all, it was metic women who were first and foremost affected by the Citizenship Law and its fluctuations. Independent metic women (i.e. woman without a male *kurios*) must have been prominent enough (even if not numerous) in Athens to have their own tax category and special recognition in law. They were also likely the most vulnerable because, unlike male metics, they were more open to slanders and had no recourse to courts without both a male *prostates* and perhaps another man to speak for them in disputes.³ Whereas Robin Osborne has argued that the Citizenship Law was not a radical break in marriage practice in the mid-fifth century, it still likely had a major psychological impact and carried a stigma. Such stigma, I argue in this chapter, is evident in tragedy, especially in the plays produced after 451 BCE. Whereas there may have been no discernible impact of the law among the practices of Athenian citizens, the status of metics, women especially, was diminished and endangered. Therefore, we can view mythical representations to understand some of the imagined threats metic women posed to Athens and the threats that they themselves faced from the Athenians.

Tragedy, as an imaginary safe space where the audience frequently negotiated social and political issues, offered the Athenians a vehicle for fantasy and imagining.⁴ Exploring tragedies can allow us to reconstruct some of the fantasies that metic women specifically represented. In some cases, the fantasy is of metic women as an external threat incorporated into Athens as protectors of or contributors to the fertility of the city. Other fantasies, however, view these same women as a sexually transmitted disease that must be removed from the citizen body. This is the fantasy that eventually manifested itself in repeated courtroom accusations against real metic women of being prostitutes or sexually or socially deviant in other ways. Both of the fantasies of metic women are prominent in tragedy. Whereas the myths cannot tell us the historical conditions that led to

the passing of the Citizenship Law, they can tell us the ways Athenian audiences imagined metic women within the context of Athens' growing *archê*, when immigration to Athens reached its peak, and in the years when the law was first enacted, relaxed, and reaffirmed.⁵ For, we cannot only view metic women as women, but we must constitute them also as foreigners—not barbarians necessarily, but foreign—as non-Athenians in an increasingly Athenocentric space.⁶ Because Athenian theories of ethnicity themselves seem to derive from or intersect with gender ideologies on numerous levels, the prominence of women, the original foreign body (i.e. not man), in plays that explore foreignness and identity should not be surprising. Metic women were doubly Other.

I begin the chapter by exploring the pre-Citizenship Law plays *Suppliants* (ca. 463 BCE)⁷ and *Eumenides* (458 BCE), both by Aeschylus. I then discuss Sophocles' *Antigone* (ca. 443 BCE), Euripides' *Medea* (431 BCE), and *Hippolytus* (428 BCE), followed by Euripides' *Heraklidae* (ca. 430–427 BCE).⁸ In addition to discussing the plays, I briefly examine tomb representations of metic women and images of the Amazons as points of comparison for the images of metic women represented on stage. Through this exploration, we discover what appears to be a specific ideology of metic women, distinctive from that of metics in general and linked both to the evolving gender ideologies of classical Athens and to emerging biological theories of ethnicity such as the vaunted Athenian autochthony. This ideology was not a reflection of the actual status, ethnicity, employment, or sexual availability of metic women, but it came to heavily mark their treatment in law, oratory, and other public fora.

Invasion of the Metics

Geoff Bakewell is among the scholars who date the origins of *metoikia* to the 460s. As such, he considers Aeschylus' *Suppliants* the earliest literary evidence for the distinctive status of metics that would characterize them in Athens throughout the classical period and interprets the play as something of a charter myth for what was a new and complex institution for the Athenians.⁹ Following Patterson, he assumes that pressure from immigration led to the establishment of a formal status for metics and, eventually, to the Citizenship Law of 451

BCE.¹⁰ He views the *Suppliants* as evidence for anxiety over a large influx of young foreign women into Athens between 480 and 460 BCE who were seen as a threat to the property rights and marriage status of citizen families. I agree with part of his assessment. While I agree that the *Suppliants* is the earliest reference to a formal institution of *metoikia* and serves the purpose of a mythical charter of sorts, I disagree with the notion that the *Suppliants* insists on the segregation or separation of these women from the citizen body as he does.¹¹ Rather, I will argue that the play does initially express these concerns, but that these concerns are linked more closely to Athenian anxieties over foreign tyranny. By the end of the trilogy, the women themselves are safely incorporated into the polis as wives and mothers of citizens, a pattern reflected in other pre-Citizenship Law plays.

The decision by the Athenians to define citizenship by descent, a definition the law requires, strengthens the view of foreign immigration as a major driving force in both the institutionalization of *metoikia* and the changes in citizenship. If ideas of patriotism had truly become entangled with birth status, then the metic, as the *de facto* outsider, could never be a true supporter of the democracy.¹² The metic woman would, therefore, become one focus of ethnic anxiety because it was through marriage to a non-Athenian woman that the citizen body could most easily be invaded and undermined. This idea begins to develop following the Persian Wars and grows to become a staple of oratory in the years throughout the fourth century. As will be discussed in the chapters that follow, foreign women become a ready target for undermining the status of political opponents in no small part because their associations with these women called into question their loyalty to Athens. But before 451 BCE, such links between ancestry and patriotism were not yet fully formed in the way they appear in the fourth-century orators. In fact, there were other contrary forces working against such exclusivity in Athens in the wake of the Persian Wars such as Panhellenism

Athens was one of the main proponents of Panhellenism in the first half of the fifth century as leader of a Panhellenic military alliance, the Delian League. In the 460s and 450s, however, this Panhellenism gave way under the pressures of Athenian imperialism. As the Athenians became more secure in their hegemony, and the agreements with their allies became less equal, their desire to differentiate themselves not just from barbarians but other Greeks (including their own Ionian kinsmen and allies) increased.¹³ *Metoikia* was one manifestation of this desire; the Citizenship Law, another. Thus, we

should read the creation and discussion of *metoikia* in a popular venue such as tragedy as a reflection upon social and intellectual rationales for the institution. In a number of Aeschylus' tragedies, emphatically foreign females are granted metic status in Athens in exchange for promising not to pollute the city with death or destruction. What type of pollution could they bring? What sort of destruction? And can we read in this particular play, as Bakewell does, a fear of foreign women as the vanguard of a metic invasion?

Metics with Benefits

At the beginning of *Suppliants*, the Danaids and their father Danaos arrive in Argos with suppliant branches in their hands. Although foreign in appearance, their recognition of the process of supplication and their decent from Io mark them as Greek, and they seek asylum from a marriage with the sons of Aegyptus, their cousins, on grounds of shared Argive descent (274–276). When first confronted with the Danaids' request for asylum, Pelasgos, then king in Argos, does not immediately agree to put their request to the Argive assembly. Instead, he sees the decision as a conundrum and fears some will say, “you destroyed the city in honoring foreigners” (ἐπήλυδας τιμῶν ἀπώλεσας πόλιν, 401), a phrase presented to the audience as a well-known proverb. Protecting the Danaids, in Pelasgos' view, threatens the stability of the city both externally by bringing war from their Egyptian cousins and internally with *stasis* (407–417, 438–440). Further, the Danaids are themselves represented as at odds with the democratic principles of mythic Argos and contemporary Athens, as they define Pelasgos' kingship as absolute (370–375):

σύ τοι πόλις, σὺ δὲ τὸ δῆμιον
πρύτανις ἄκριτος ὦν
κρατύνεις βωμόν, ἐστίαν χθονός,
μονοψήφοισι νεύμασιν σέθεν,
μονοσκήπτροισι δ' ἐν θρόνοις χρέος
πᾶν ἐπικραίνεις· ἄγος φυλάσσου.

You are the city, you are the sovereign people; a leader, not subject to judgment, in charge of the altars, the hearth of the land, by your vote alone, by your nod, with your single scepter on your throne, you judge all matters.¹⁴

They are subversive in other ways, too. They threaten to pollute the Argive sanctuary by hanging themselves from the images of the gods with their girdles (457–465) and they reject marriage as an institution (328–39).¹⁵ They also have an alluring sexuality that they hardly attempt to stifle (994–1013):

παῖς δ' ἐν μετοίκῳ γλῶσσαν εὐτυκὸν φέρει
κακὴν, τό τ' εἰπεῖν εὐπετές μύσαγμα πῶς.
ὕμᾱς δ' ἐπαινῶ μὴ καταισχύνειν ἐμέ,
ὦραν ἐχούσας τήνδ' ἐπίστρεπτον βροτοῖς·
τέρειν' ὁπώρα δ' εὐφύλακτος οὐδαμῶς·
θῆρές σφε κηραίνουσι καὶ βροτοί· τί μήν;
καὶ κνώδαλα πτεροῦντα καὶ πεδοστιβῆ (1000)
†καρπῶματα στάζοντα† κηρύσσει Κύπρις
†καλῶρα κωλύουσιν θωσμένειν ἐρῶ†
καὶ παρθένων χλιδαῖσιν εὐμόρφοις ἔπι
παῖς τις παρελθὼν ὄμματος θελκτήριοιον
τόξευμ' ἔπεμψεν ἱμέρου νικώμενος·
πρὸς ταῦτα μὴ πάθωμεν ὧν πολὺς πόνος,
πολὺς δὲ πόντος οὐνεκ' ἠρόθη δορί,
μηδ' αἴσχος ἡμῖν, ἡδονὴν δ' ἐχθροῖς ἐμοῖς
πράζωμεν. οἴκησις δὲ καὶ διπλῆ πάρα·
τὴν μὲν Πελασγός, τὴν δὲ καὶ πόλις διδοῖ (1010)
οἰκεῖν λάτρων ἄτερθεν. εὐπετὴ τάδε.
μόνον φύλαξαι τάσδ' ἐπιστολὰς πατρός,
τὸ σωφρονεῖν τιμῶσα τοῦ βίου πλέον.

For in the metic's case, every tongue stands ready to speak evil, and it's easy to utter slanders. Therefore, I beg you not to shame me because you possess that youthful bloom that turns men's heads. Such tender ripeness is not easy to protect; wild beasts and even men destroy it, no? Both creatures with flight and earthbound alike. Cypris announces a fruit's offerings just as it is ready to burst

and prevents it from remaining untouched. Just so any man walking by is overcome by desire for the delicate (χλιδή)¹⁶ beauty of maiden girls and, mastered by desire, shoots an alluring arrow from the eye at the delicate beauty of virgins and conquers them. See to it, then, that we not suffer the thing we endured great toil and ploughed the great waters with our ship to avoid. Do not bring shame to ourselves and pleasure to our enemies. We have been offered two types of dwelling to occupy free of cost, the one Pelasgos offers, the other, the city offers. This is fortunate. But listen to your father: Maintain your self-control (*sophronein*), honoring it more than your life.¹⁷

In one sense, the rejection of marriage implicit here diminishes the threat the Danaids might otherwise pose and we could say that their sexuality is neither dangerous nor seditious because it rejects the very thing that the audience is supposedly concerned over—miscegenation.¹⁸ Bakewell, however, following Seaford and Zeitlin, suggests their refusal to marry their cousins reflects agency on the part of the Danaids and this agency was anxiety-inducing in and of itself. Apparently, the mere existence of nubile metic women in the polis kept many an Athenian citizen up late at night.

But we should not view their refusal or the tension of the play as entirely a product of their sexual agency. An alternate and perhaps complementary reading could view their refusal as a mask for their father's agenda, suggesting that he brought them to Argos, intending all along to find them Argive husbands and himself a tyranny, which he supposedly achieved in the second play of the trilogy after the death of Pelasgos and during the siege by the sons of Aegyptus.¹⁹ Danaos is, after all, the architect of their journey and the game-master dictating their moves: "Danaos, our father, the adviser of the plan, head of our party, preparing the board for a game of *pestoi*" (Δαναὸς δὲ πατὴρ καὶ βούλαρχος καὶ στασίαρχος τᾶδε πεσσονομῶν, 11–12). Danaos, *pepsonomōn*, controls the Danaids both here and later when they murder the sons of Aegyptus. He also manipulates the Argives by using the Danaids to sway Pelasgos through his request for a bodyguard (490–499),²⁰ perhaps a startling reflection of Peisistratos. Finally, Danaos reminds everyone, both in the audience and on stage, of the sexual desirability of his daughters (994–1013). He is called the *stasiarchos*, a leader of a party or faction, or, more sinisterly, a leader of sedition. In a sense, it is his will that directs the entire trilogy.²¹ Thus, the metic women are not necessarily dangerous because they are anti-democratic and sexually alluring, but because they are both of these things *and* potentially a tool for a foreign power, in this case, a father of wealth and birth who has lost

power and influence at home and now seeks it abroad instead.²²

In this instance, then, the *Suppliants* suggests political fears of foreign-sponsored tyranny, a real concern in the years after Marathon (490 BCE) more so than anxiety over a massive influx of sexy, exotic immigrant women. Such fear of foreign-sponsored tyranny led the Athenians to ostracize a number of prominent men in the 480s.²³ A number of those ostracized were *metroxenoi*, men whose mothers were the daughters of foreign kings or nobles.²⁴ Further, an increased number of Greek political exiles were making their way to Athens beginning in the 460s. These exiles, like Danaos and the Danaids and other suppliants who appear on the tragic stage, were often from Greek cities and islands that claimed distant kinship to Athens as Ionians or as former colonists. As both fellow Ionians and allies, they might expect a share in the Athenian polis if they settled there, contributed to the economy and, perhaps, intermarried with Athenians. Some, like the Naxians in the 460s, Milesians in the 450s, and Samians in the 440s, often came to Athens because their own cities were in turmoil and they may have shared political sympathies with the Athenians. But not all were supporters of democratic institutions.²⁵ Pelasgos does not ask many questions about who Danaos is and why he left Egypt, a mistake that he and all the Argives pay for when Danaos assumes power later. It is hardly surprising, then, that audience members might feel anxious over the family ties of metic women and their fathers' motivations in marrying them to citizens.

The Danaids are also initially referred to as *astoxenoi* (356), a *hapax* in extant Greek literature that marks their odd relationship to the city as both insider and outsider. The status of metic granted them in the play, therefore, must be an intermediate status that recognizes them as resident and related, but denies them direct access to the landed wealth of Argos; the Danaids are given options of homes to dwell in, not to own.²⁶ Their kinship with the Argives is marked similarly to the way kinship was marked between the Ionians and Athens in the dynamics of the *archê*. In the wake of the Persian Wars, shared kinship was a rallying cry for the creation of the Delian League and the Athenian-led offensives into Persian territories. The Ionians were treated, in a sense, as *astoxenoi*. If they came to Athens, as many did, they would participate in the Panathenaiaic procession as kin and dedicated first fruits as if colonists. Before 451 BCE, they could strengthen their bond with their Athenian kin through marriage to citizens, their children granted a full share in the polis. The fathers of

any such women who married Athenians would have had protections and access to citizens, especially prominent citizens if, as is assumed, metic-citizen marriages were more frequent among the Athenian elite. Under these conditions, the *Suppliants* could be interpreted as a representation of dangerous metics whose entry into the city brought war, the death of a king, and the establishment of a foreign dynasty over the city.²⁷ We should not underestimate just how realistic a worry this might have been for the Athenians in this period.²⁸ But they could also be viewed as welcome kin who bring benefits to the city through participation in various polis institutions.

The Danaids also are not alone in being interpreted as a potentially destructive, invading metic force. The Furies of Aeschylus' *Eumenides* are also represented through the language of *metoikia*. Staged in 458 BCE as the final play of the *Oresteia* trilogy, *Eumenides* portrays two primary legal actions. The first legal action of the play deals with the aftermath of the murder of Clytemnestra by Orestes. In Athens, Orestes finds a goddess (Athena) and a jury of Athenian citizens ready to hear his case, free him from the Furies' pursuit, and establish him in *summachia* (military alliance) with them. The second legal action is the persuasion and incorporation of the Furies into the polis as metics. The political implications of *Eumenides* have been broadly discussed by scholars because of the play's setting in Athens, the appearance of Athena, and the establishment of the court of the Areopagus.²⁹ Rarely is the use of metic language more than noted in discussion. Angeliki Tzanetou has recently considered the Furies in the context of suppliant drama in relation to Athens' empire and Geoff Bakewell briefly considers the language of *metoikia* in the play.³⁰ For both scholars, the language of supplication and *metoikia* highlight the mutual benefits that can unite citizen and metic. They view the incorporation of the Furies as *Eumenides* into Athenian religious and social life as presenting Athens at its best as an imperial city—a benefactor and protector to suppliants, who is powerful enough even to co-opt the strength of her enemies.³¹ I agree with this position, but we should consider further what benefits metic-Eunemides can offer. As enemies, the Furies seem far more destructive than the Danaids. And if the Danaids embody anxiety about metics, how can the Furies not? The Danaids threaten war and *stasis*, but the Furies promise that and more.

After losing the vote to Orestes, the Furies bemoan their defeat (777–787):

ἰὼ θεοὶ νεώτεροι, παλαιοὺς νόμους
καθιππᾶσασθε κᾶκ χερῶν εἴλεσθέ μου·
ἐγὼ δ' ἄτιμος ἢ τάλαινα βαρύκοτος,
ἐν γαῖ τᾶιδε, φεῦ,
ἰὼν ἰὼν ἀντιπενθῇ μεθεῖσα καρδίας,
σταλαγμὸν χθόνι <ον> ἄφορον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ
λειχὴν ἄφυλλος ἄτεκνος, ὦ Δίκη <Δίκη>,
πέδον ἐπισύμενος
βροτοφθόρους κηλίδας ἐν χώραι βαλεῖ.

Oh, younger gods, you have trampled over ancient laws and snatched them from our hands to yours. I, wretched, am dishonored in this land and deeply angered. Oh, woe! Let us cause grievous harm, in turn, releasing poison, poison from our hearts, a dripping grief for the land. From this a blight of fruitlessness and barrenness, Oh Justice! Justice! Rushing over the fields, a man-destroying defilement, will strike the land.

Twice the Furies sing this threat³² and twice Athena replies with promises of honor from the citizens. First, Athena offers them an underground home in the very soil of Attica (804–807). She then offers them a status akin to her own in the city: “[you will dwell] as reverentially honored and my housefellow” (ὥς σεμνότιμος καὶ ξυνοικήτωρ ἐμοί, 833) . And, surprisingly, they will be given rites attached to marriage and childbirth (833–836), something I address below. But before accepting these offers and being incorporated into the land of Attica as both house-mates with Athena and revered goddesses, the Furies threaten great harm again. A quick examination of what they threaten and how Athena interprets their threats shows interesting overlaps with the Danaids.

As the voting takes place, the Furies and Apollo address the jurors and then turn to each other in a somewhat childish back-and-forth (711–720, 729–733):

Χο. καὶ μὴν βαρεῖαν τήνδ' ὁμιλίαν χθονὸς
ξύμβουλός εἰμι μηδαμῶς ἀτιμάσαι.

Απ. κἄγωγε χρησμούς τοὺς ἐμούς τε καὶ Διὸς
ταρβεῖν κελεύω μηδ' ἀκαρπώτους κτίσαι.

Χο. ἀλλ' αἵματηρὰ πράγματ' οὐ λαχὼν σέβεις, (715)
μαντεῖα δ' οὐκέθ' ἄγνὰ μαντεύσῃ νέμων.

Απ. ἧ καὶ πατήρ τι σφάλλεται βουλευμάτων
πρωτοκτόνοισι προστροπαῖς Ἰξίονος;

Χο. λέγεις· ἐγὼ δὲ μὴ τυχοῦσα τῆς δίκης
βαρεῖα χώραι τῇδ' ὁμιλήσω πάλιν. (720)

. . .

Απ. σύ τοι τάχ' οὐκ ἔχουσα τῆς δίκης τέλος
ἐμῇ τὸν ἰὸν οὐδὲν ἐχθροῖσιν βαρύν. (730)

Χο. ἐπεὶ καθιπάζῃ με πρεσβῦτιν νέος,
δίκης γενέσθαι τῇσδ' ἐπήκοος μένω,
ὥς ἀμφίβουλος οὔσα θυμοῦσθαι πόλει

CHORUS. Well, I advise you not to dishonor in any way this company, a serious thing for the land.

APOLLO. For my part, I order you to fear my oracles and Zeus's, and not to render them unfulfilled.

CHORUS. You revere blood matters even though they do not belong to you (715), and no longer render holy prophesies.

APOLLO. Was even my father mistaken in his approach to the primeval murder-supplication of Ixion or not?

CHORUS. Words! But if I do not obtain justice, I will again be a grievous visitor to this land . . .

APOLLO. You will soon have no fulfillment of your justice and will vomit your venom, in no way troublesome to your enemies.

CHORUS. Since you trample me down, a new god against an old woman, I remain to witness this justice for I am of two minds about my rage against the polis.

The first threat is leveled at the jurors themselves warning them of danger if they do not honor the Furies with their support. The Furies

then promise pollution of Apollo's temple and appeal to justice as their due, again threatening grievous harm to the land. At the end of the exchange, they make clear that a failure to win the vote will result not in their anger towards Apollo (their actual opponent in the debate), but against the Athenians who voted against them. Similarly, the Danaids threaten to pollute the temple of the Argives if they fail to act justly and accept them as suppliants (423–437, 457–465). Even though it is the sons of Aegyptus whom they flee, it is the third party, forced to moderate between them, who is the target of the wrath of the Danaids.

The threat of the Furies is both to the land and to the people. In 777–87/808–23, they threaten drought, infertility and fatal defilements for both. Athena interprets these defilements as fruitlessness (*akarpian*, 801), resulting from their “savage, warlike spirits that eat seeds” (βρωτῆρας αἰχμὰς σπερμάτων ἀνημέρους, 803). The issue of fruitlessness reappears both in the Furies' repetition of their previous words at 808–823 and in Athena's second reply that they stop wanting the land and people to be sterile (καρπὸν φέροντα πάντα μὴ πρόσσειν καλῶς, 831). The threat that the Furies pose is one of infertility and sterility and thus they are promised by Athena a share in first fruits, marriage and childbirth rites, and a home in the land. Because the Furies threaten the fertility of the land, their benefit to the land will be to ensure its fertility. Further, even as the Furies begin to soften their threats, Athena asks additional concessions of them in exchange for an honored home on the Acropolis and unequalled gifts from troops of men and women. She promises these gifts if they refrain from implanting violence and a desire for *stasis* in the citizens (851–866). The Furies are thus a threat to the civic order of the polis if they desire to be one. They can both incite violence between citizens and rob the land and its people of their fertility. However, even as the Furies threaten *stasis* (as the Danaids did), Athena deems as acceptable and even positive the warlike spirit they can inspire, so long as it is aimed at external foes (*Eum.* 864–866). All Athena needs to do is appropriate that spirit for her citizens.

The appropriation of the foreign threat is, I think, the real impact of both of these plays, not the anxiety over the threat itself. The anxiety is present, but the trilogies move from anxiety and exclusivity to incorporation. The appropriation of these foreign threats, however, both with the Furies and with the Danaids, is eroticized. The Danaids are described by their father as sexually available women, despite their own reservations about their sexuality. The Furies are told by

Athena that having experienced Athens, they will long for her wherever else they go as lovers long for their lost love (ὕμεῖς δ' ἐς ἀλλόφυλον ἐλθοῦσαι χθόνα / γῆς τῆσδ' ἐρασθήσεσθε, 851 – 852). In neither case, however, is this eroticization negative. In the case of the Furies, their longing for the city will make them want to benefit and belong to the city, not destroy it. They will develop a type of patriotic fervor such as Thukydides' Perikles suggests for the citizens in the famous Funeral Oration, the type of love Lape argues is later considered an inherited trait of the citizen.³³ For the Danaids, it seems likely that their marriageability and embrace of love (in marriage, at least) is what saves Argos in the end of the trilogy from *stasis*. Bakewell argues that one of the key themes of the trilogy may have been turning the Danaids away from their staunch rejection of marriage, a rejection that is the cause of all the trouble to begin with.³⁴ The beginning of this change is explicitly marked as the Danaids are escorted off stage by the secondary chorus of Argive soldiers, who remind them repeatedly that the power of Aphrodite is not to be ignored (1034–1051). Instead, they eventually reject marriage only with the Aegyptids and marry instead Argives.³⁵ This marriage is suggestive of renewal after war because it is connected with the establishment of a new royal dynasty, the establishment of peace after war, and, like the incorporation of the Furies into Athens, with renewed fertility of the city. Such eroticization, then, of both the Furies and the Danaids also contributes to their connections with fertility in their respective trilogies. The Furies are explicitly charged with guaranteeing fertility and the production of children in the city and of safeguarding marriage (834–836, 909–913) whereas the Danaids themselves marry and, under the auspices of Aphrodite, presumably assume the role of mothers in the new Argos. If these plays truly reflect hostility towards increased waves of foreign women in the years before 451 BCE, such connections to the fertility of the city seem misplaced unless they serve as a way to mitigate the anxiety the supposed metic invasion caused.

In the cases of both the Furies and the Danaids, the original threat they pose is transformed into a benefit for the city in relation to marriage. But we should question whether these women maintain metic status once they are incorporated or if it is their status as metics that is the real threat; in other words, is there something inherently dangerous about metics that only incorporation can mitigate? In the case of the Furies, they are referred to as metics by Athena when she asks the citizens to escort them into the city (παῖδες Κραναοῦ, ταῖσδε

μετοίκ οἱς εἴη δ' ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθὴ διάνοια πολίταις; “You, children of Kranaous, who dwell in this city, lead the way for these metics, and may there be good thoughts by the citizens for their good deeds,” 1010–1013).³⁶ They refer to themselves as metics when thanking Athena (Παλλάδος πόλιν νέμοντες, μετοικίαν δ' ἔμην εὐσεβοῦντες οὐτι μέμψεσθε συμφορὰς βίου; “Dwelling in Athens and respecting our *metoikia* here, you will not complain about the fortunes of your life,” 1017–1020), but they are explicitly promised by Athena both a “share in the city”³⁷ and landownership (867–869, 890–891):

τοιαῦθ' ἐλέσθαι σοι πάρεστιν ἐξ ἐμοῦ,
εὖ δρῶσαν, εὖ πάσχουσιν, εὖ τιμωμένην
χώρας μετασχεῖν τῆσδε θεοφιλεστάτης
...

ἔξεστι γάρ σοι τῆσδε γαμόρῳ χθονὸς (890)
εἶναι δικαίως ἐς τὸ πᾶν τιμωμένην.

Such is the future you can choose at my hands: one of good deeds, good treatment and good honor, as sharers in this land (χώρας μετασχεῖν) which the gods love beyond all others . . . for it is possible for you to be a landholder in this land (γαμόρῳ χθονὸς) and justly be honored forever.

Both of these benefits are exclusively the domain of citizens. Recall that the Danaids were only given homes to dwell in, not to have. Because the metics in question, however, are women (and these plays were produced years before 451 BCE), there is still a way for them to be integrated into the city so that they can have both a share in the city and land—marriage and children. The Furies are enlisted to protect and encourage these institutions and may have entered the city and appeared in court under the guise of emetics, but once they take their place as goddesses within the city, they are no longer excluded from the city, but united with it.

We should consider the same possibility for the Danaids. Whereas it is clear from the *Suppliants* that the metic Danaids are a threat to the peace and prosperity of the city because they bring war with Egypt in their wake, it is unclear that such a threat remains throughout the trilogy. Rather, the threat they pose is a result of their rejection of

marriage. As noted previously, Pelasgos is concerned with accepting the Danaids into the city because he fears war with the Egyptians will result. This fear is not unfounded because, as Pelasgos himself makes clear, the Aegyptids have a just claim to marriage with the Danaids. Protecting them could be perceived as an unjust action (387–391):

εἴ τοι κρατοῦσι παῖδες Αἰγύπτου σέθεν
νόμῳ πόλεως, φάσκοντες ἐγγύτατα γένους
εἶναι, τίς ἂν τοῖσδ' ἀντιωθῆναι θέλοι;
δεῖ τοί σε φεύγειν κατὰ νόμους τοὺς οἴκοθεν,
ὥς οὐκ ἔχουσιν κῦρος οὐδὲν ἀμφὶ σοῦ.

If the sons of Aegyptus have power over you by the law of your city, saying that they are your nearest kin, who would be willing to oppose that claim? You must plead your case, you see, under the laws of your home, to show that they have no authority over you.

The Danaids appeal to Dikê numerous times (381–386, 395–396, 402–406), but they avoid answering directly Pelasgos' question of whether their marriage is, in truth, unjust.³⁸ Thus it is their rejection of marriage (a woman's *aretê*) and their proper role as women that brings war and destruction. That they do so because their father suggests it (just as he will order the murder of the Aegyptids later) does not mitigate the threat that their extreme position represents. When Aphrodite arranges marriages for them to Argives later in the trilogy, however, the threat is diminished and the Danaids can now have, not houses to dwell in within the city, but a share in the city. Again, we should imagine that whereas the Danaids enter the cities as metics, they end the trilogy as integrated with the citizens. Because this is a connected trilogy like the *Oresteia*, it is dangerous to read the *Suppliants* in isolation and to draw conclusions about the danger the Danaids pose to Argos as if that will not change.³⁹

What the dynamics of these plays show, then, is both that there was anxiety attached to metic status, but that this anxiety could be resolved. Because it was still possible for metic women to integrate into the city through marriage and to use their fertility as a benefit to the community, the anxiety their potential independence and unharnessed power might arouse could be mitigated by appropriating it for the city. So long as the women conformed to gender norms and were not yet excluded from doing so, then their foreignness was less

dangerous, especially in an Athens where there was only a developing sense of ethnic distinction from other Greeks and even from non-Greeks in the Mediterranean at that time. The *Suppliants* and its trilogy especially shows the evolving nature of these distinctions (much as does Aeschylus' earlier *Persians*). All of this changed, however, with the advent of the Citizenship Law of 451 BCE when the children of metic women by a citizen could no longer claim a share in the city and land of Athens. The question is, do our representations reflect this change?

The Metic Contagion

Although I have argued in [Chapter 1](#) that marriage between citizen and metic was not made illegal in the fifth century by the Citizenship Law, it did serve as a disincentive to marriages, or, at least, to first marriages between citizen men and metic women.⁴⁰ Because the women could no longer bear citizen children, their share in the city was diminished and essentially eliminated. This did not mean, however, that there was not a place for metic women in Athens. It meant that their place became more restricted and their status among citizens more ambiguous and, perhaps, anxiety-inducing. It also meant that in the citizen imagination, metics and *metroxenoi* were tainted or even defective and, in some cases, invisible. Both the ambiguity of the metic's status and this taint are evident in Sophocles' *Antigone*, where *metoikia* acts as a metaphor for Antigone's entombment, and in Euripides' *Hippolytus* wherein metic women are a threat to the stability of their cities and families, but are unable to be safely incorporated into the city (and so their threat mitigated). Marriage and childbirth, once the proper method for incorporating the metic woman, becomes dangerous and destructive. When marriages occur or when children are born of metic women, the family (and the city) suffers. Thus, alternate paths must be taken to mitigate their threat and we see the development of a boundary between citizen and metic that is not evident in the earlier plays. In this context, I explore first the significance of the metaphorical use of *metoikia* in *Antigone* for understanding metic status after 451 BCE. Next, I discuss *Hippolytus* where we find a foreign woman, Phaedra, married to the exiled king of Athens, Theseus (a *metroxenos*). She has an uncontrollable passion

for his bastard son (*nothos*) by an Amazon, Hippolytus, who has himself run afoul of Aphrodite for his sexual deviance.

“Metic status, for the most part, was something invisible.”⁴¹ The Citizenship Law did not make metics suddenly visible in ways that they had not been before. This was even more so the case for women, citizen and foreign. In images, as Osborne again notes, it is nearly impossible to “neatly divide into categories” the images of women by subject or activity. On tombs and in painted images, as likely in reality, the woman’s domain was domestic and they are depicted in domestic scenes.⁴² As women, their lives were defined not by their foreignness or social status, but by their gender. It is only in moments of consequence that the distinction between citizen and metic mattered. What this distinction was outside of the laws of inheritance, however, is difficult to grasp. Sophocles’ *Antigone* gives us an interesting metaphorical look at how Athenians may have understood metic status among women in the years immediately following the passage of the law that excluded them from the citizen body.

After a verbal altercation with his son, Haemon, Kreon orders that Antigone (his son’s betrothed) be entombed alive in a cave with a minimal amount of food so that she would die of starvation without the city being polluted (774–777). Shortly after his decree, Antigone discusses her fate with the chorus and three times refers to herself as a metic (852, 867, 890). Frequently, *metoikos* is translated with the sense of ‘one who dwells with’ as opposed to ‘immigrant’ or ‘resident foreigner’ based, I suppose, on Jebb’s assertion in his commentary on *Oedipus Tyrannos* 452–453 that the use of *metoikos* there (and presumably elsewhere in Sophocles) simply meant “one who comes to dwell with others” and “has not the full technical sense which belonged to it in Athens, a resident alien . . .”⁴³ And yet, this elides some rather interesting aspects of the metaphor (for clearly it is a metaphor; Antigone is not a foreigner like the Danaids). In the first passage in which *metoikos* appears, Antigone says (850–852):

ὡς δὺςτανος, βροτοῖς
οὔτε <νεκρὸς> νεκροῖσιν
μέτοικος, οὐ ζῶσιν, οὐ θανοῦσιν.

Oh wretched me, a metic <a corpse> belonging neither with mortal men nor corpses, neither with the living nor the dead.

A typical translation renders the phrase as “a dweller with neither mortal men nor corpses, neither with the living nor the dead.”⁴⁴ And yet, the word is more than that. Although Jebb is right that the term is not technical here, it is not neutral either. Antigone’s condition is not simply that she will dwell with neither, but that she is neither. The use of the phrase *metoikos* implies a state of limbo, an in-between status that gains neither the commemoration due the dead nor the freedoms of movement, speech and human interaction of the living. She is cut off from society and denied memorialization. The same can be said for the next use of the term: “I go to them [my parents] now, accursed, unmarried, a metic” (πρὸς οὓς ἀραῖος ἄγαμος ἄδ’ ἐγὼ μέτοικος ἔρχομαι, 867–868). In this case as well, the typical translator elides out the meaning of *metic* as immigrant or foreign resident and instead frequently elides the word itself or verbalizes it.⁴⁵ And yet, the meaning is much stronger than such elisions imply. To be a *metic* means that she herself is being elided out of the world. She does not die, she simply disappears.

The final appearance of the term *metoikos* in the text is, perhaps, the most challenging to understand, in part because it is uttered by Kreon as he tells the chorus women to leave Antigone alone to die or live in her tomb as she will: “For we are cleansed of this girl. In any case, she will be deprived of her *metic* status on earth” (ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἀγνοῖ τοῦπὶ τήνδε τὴν κ ὀρην· μετοικίας δ’ οὖν τῆς ἄνω στερήσεται, 889–890). Woodruff renders this last phrase as “Her permit to reside above the earth is canceled.” This awkward translation renders a rather (typically) condensed Sophoclean line that has to mean that what she is deprived of is her right to dwell among them. Again, we resort to the ‘one who dwells with’ in order to simplify and smooth over the difficulties the word *metoikia* causes in the text. And yet, once again, the use of *metoikia* adds something fundamental to our understanding of Antigone’s status in Kreon’s eyes and also the meaning of *metoikia* for an Athenian audience. For clearly Kreon sees her right to dwell among them as something he can revoke. It is not an inherent right, but contingent and within the power of the state and society to decide. Antigone understands her own position as like that of a *metic*—in between living and dead, known but unacknowledged. As a woman, she is refused the two primary moments of recognition granted them, marriage for the living and commemoration for the dead. Kreon adds to this ambiguous ‘in between’ status by refusing even that middle space, thus demonstrating the tenuousness of the *metic*’s situation. He, the state, can create *metics* and can take their

status away. He feels this is necessary because Antigone's behavior is designated as seditious, a danger to the state. Antigone must be controlled lest others be infected and follow her lead. Thus the metaphorical use of *metic* in *Antigone* gives us the first real hint that to be a *metic* is to be without secure status, rights, or even visibility. The *metic* is a contagion that must be contained.

Anxiety over this unstable status manifested in other ways. In Euripides' *Hippolytus*, the dysfunction of the family is directly linked to ambiguous birth and status. The terms *metoikos* and *metoikia* never appear in *Hippolytus* and the play, about the Athenian royal family, does not take place in Athens. However, the status of each of the characters is shaped by their relationship to Athens as *metics*, *metroxenoi* or *nothoi*. The play focuses on Phaedra, the *metic* wife of Theseus (himself a *metroxenos* and exile), and Theseus' son Hippolytus, a *metroxenos* through his mother, but also called explicitly in the play a *nothos*.⁴⁶ The relationships of the characters are marred by their sexual deviancy, deviancy that is explicitly linked to their non-Athenian birth. The harm this deviancy creates for their family is cast as harm to the city as well. Only the displacement of the family from Athens to Trozen has saved Athens itself from destruction at the hands of these very destructive and dangerous *metics* and *metroxenoi*.

As the play opens Aphrodite appears on stage and tells the audience that she grants honors to those who revere her, but causes the haughty to fall (τοὺς μὲν σέβοντας τὰμὰ πρεσβεύω κράτη, σφάλλω δ' ὅσοι φρονοῦσιν εἰς ἡμᾶς μέγα, 5–6).⁴⁷ Hippolytus is the target of Aphrodite's machinations, but Phaedra is the weapon she wields against him. In many ways she is the perfect weapon. She, like Hippolytus, is of foreign birth and the play explicitly links both his and Phaedra's sexual behavior with their foreign descent. Additionally, the play is marked by Phaedra's anxiety over the status of her own children based on her behaviors. Each of these traits in Phaedra is exploited by Aphrodite (and Euripides) in such a way as to make her passion for Hippolytus and its destructiveness inherent in her *metic* nature. Although never explicitly called a *metic*, her character would have been easily identifiable to the Athenian audience as such.⁴⁸ Throughout the play, the audience is reminded of Phaedra's foreignness. She is married into the august city of Erechtheus,⁴⁹ but is herself a Cretan.⁵⁰ When the chorus seeks to understand her illness, they imagine as the source a series of gods who are either not Greek (Cybele and Dictynna,⁵¹ 143–148) or who are dangerous or Bacchic (Hecate and Pan, 141–142).⁵² The chorus

reminds the audience of her journey from Crete to Athens (752–762) and says that an ill omen (δυσόρνις) followed her, most unprofitably married (κακ ονυμφοτάταν ὄνασιν), from her homeland. The nature of this ill omen is left ambiguous, but the next line of the chorus refers to the “wretched disease of impious love” by which she has been struck (ἀνθ’ ὧν οὐχ ὁσίων ἐρώτων δεινᾷ φρένας Ἀφροδίτας νόσωι κατεκλάσθη, 764–766). That impious love seems to run in her family, as Phaedra herself makes clear when she equates her situation to those of her mother, Pasiphae, and her sister, Ariadne.⁵³

Phaedra, it appears, comes from a line of women with inappropriate sexual habits. The love of Pasiphae was the first deviant love, her passion for the bull of Poseidon the source for the monstrous minotaur and the death of many Athenians: Phaedra: “Oh wretched mother, what sort of love you desired!” Nurse: “Do you mean the bull, child?” (Ph. ὦ τλῆμον, οἶον, μήτερ, ἡράσθης ἔρον. N. ὃν ἔσχε τάυρου, τέκνον; 337–338). Second was her sister Ariadne, whose passion for Theseus caused her to betray her father and help him escape the labyrinth and, in this version, desert Dionysus for Theseus: “And you, wretched sister, wife of Dionysus” (σύ τ’, ὦ τάλαιν’ ὄμαιμε, Διονύσου δάμαρ, 339).⁵⁴ To this ill-fated and unfaithful duo, Phaedra adds herself: “I, the third, am utterly destroyed as⁵⁵ disastrously” (τρίτη δ’ ἐγὼ δύστηνος ὡς ἀπόλλυμαι, 341). By linking these loves through descent and by emphasizing the Cretan birth of Phaedra, the play forges a bond between foreignness, descent, and sexual deviance. Despite her status as the wife of an Athenian and mother of Athenians, Phaedra’s metic status cannot be ignored and the danger it entails—danger characterized in the play as a disease (394, 405, 731–732, 765–766)—leads ultimately to her own death and Hippolytus’.

The disease that is Phaedra’s passion for her stepson is problematic for a number of reasons. For the disease leads not only to Phaedra’s death, but Hippolytus’ as well. Further, it corrupts Theseus by leading him to murder his son. The chorus remarks that Phaedra’s suicide is “such an act as violates this house” (τοσοῦτον ὥστε τοῦσδε συγχέαι δόμους, 813). And yet, the chorus says more than it knows—τοσοῦτον is not only the suicide, but also the love (the disease) and the note. The violation suffered by the house is, therefore, also multivalent—it is not only her death that pollutes it, but her impious love (746) and the false accusation that leads Theseus to unjustly condemn his own son to death. Theseus is right in more ways than one when he says that Phaedra has destroyed him more than she has herself with her death (ἀπώλεσας γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ κατέφθισο, 839).

The chorus further emphasizes the multifarious nature of Phaedra's disease when they remark that she has died violently by impious fortune (βιαίως θανούσ' ἀνοσίῳ τε συμφορᾷ, 814). Is her misfortune the noose or her love? And is her fortune impious (from ἀν-όσιος) or does it free her (and Hippolytus) from her passion (from ἀ-νοσίος)? ⁵⁶ Her impious suicide, the result of her impious disease, frees her from the strains of the disease, but is tied to a further impious deed, the false accusation, that leads Theseus to commit yet another impious act. Phaedra's disease, a result of her Cretan (not Athenian) birth, has wreaked havoc on the Athenian royal family.

The disease is also what disables Phaedra both from abiding by gender expectations and of being a good citizen because the ideal of the citizen woman is to be moderate and chaste and her disease (passion), despite her best efforts, precludes both. Further, the disease is the mark of one's lack of citizen status. Whereas to be a citizen means 'to have a share in the city' or to 'have a share in the house,' Phaedra envisions her disease as something she and Hippolytus (a *nothos* and *metroxenos*) should have a common share in: ". . . having a share of the disease with me in common, he will learn to be moderate" (τῆς νόσου δὲ τῆσδὲ μοι κ οινῇ μετασχὼν σωφρονεῖν μαθήσεται, 730–731). Her disease, it seems, is contagious and shared by others of foreign birth in the play.

The contagion component of her disease seems most strongly linked to Phaedra's descent (and likely Hippolytus') so that it is a problem of birth and can be passed down, a fact recognized by Theseus, perhaps, unwittingly. When he speaks of his own misfortune at the death of his wife, he says: "I am fulfilling the fate set by the gods for the offenses of someone before me from another place and time" (πρόσωθεν δέ ποθεν ἄνακ ομίζ ομαι τύχ αν δαιμόνων ἀμπλακίαισι τῶν πάροιθέν τινος, 831–833). This earlier someone is not specified, but we have already been given the distinct impression that Phaedra's passion is Pasiphae's and this is precisely the issue embodied in the Citizenship Law. The law, although not explicitly stating that non-Athenians are harmful to the citizen population as far as we know, clearly *implies* through purposeful exclusion that a non-Athenian parent can taint the Athenian *metroxenos*. That the mythical family tree is littered with *metroxenoi* and non-Athenians does not change the problem posed in *Hippolytus* by such non-Athenian branches in the tree. In fact, such aberrations in birth may account for the tragic nature of Athens' mythical past—Aegeus was not descended from Erechtheus the autochthon, Theseus was a *nothos* and *metroxenos* (as the play subtly

reminds the audience at 34–37), and Theseus' own children—Hippolytus, Demophon, and Akamas—were all *metroxenoi*. And Phaedra is particularly concerned with the status and honor of her children as a result of her behavior.

The Nurse first introduces the concern for the children and brings up the issue of legitimacy and birth within the play. At 304ff, the Nurse attempts to prevent Phaedra from starving herself by reminding her of her sons. Without Phaedra, the Nurse claims, the children will be at the mercy of Hippolytus, the *nothos* (bastard) who has aspirations of being *gnesios* (legitimate). She says (304–310):

ἀλλ' ἴσθι μέντοι—πρὸς τὰδ' αὐθαδεστέρα
γίγνου θαλάσσης—εἰ θανῇ, προδοῦσα σοὺς
παῖδας, πατρώων μὴ μεθέξοντας δόμων,
μὰ τὴν ἄνασσαν ἱππίαν Ἀμαζόνα,
ἣ σοῖς τέκνοισι δεσπότην ἐγείνατο,
νόθον φρονοῦντα γνήσι', οἷσθ' αὖ νιν καλῶς,
Ἴππόλυτον . . .

But know in any case—in this be more remorseless than the sea—your death is the betrayal of your children. They lose their share of the paternal home. By the horse riding queen Amazon! She bore a master for your children, a bastard with presumptions to legitimacy. You know him well—Hippolytos . . .

Phaedra's sons, unnamed throughout the play, are none other than Demophon, king of Athens after Theseus, and Akamas. According to the Nurse, these boys will only have a share in their father's estate if Phaedra remains to protect them. In the world of tragedy and myth, Phaedra's children, because they were begotten in marriage,⁵⁷ will inherit their father's estate and throne—they are citizens of Athens. Phaedra, however, does not see her death as an encumbrance to their future. Rather, her passion is a problem that her death can solve (419–425):

ἡμᾶς γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἀποκτείνει, φίλοι,
ὥς μήποτ' ἄνδρα τὸν ἐμὸν αἰσχύνας' ἄλλῳ,

μη παῖδας οὓς ἔτικτον· ἀλλ' ἐλεύθεροι
παρρησίαι θάλλοντες οἰκοῖεν πόλιν
κλεινῶν Ἀθηνῶν, μητρὸς οὐνεκ' εὐκλεεῖς.
δουλοῖ γὰρ ἄνδρα, κἂν θρασύσπλαγχνός τις ᾗ,
ὅταν ξυνειδῇ μητρὸς ἢ πατρὸς κακά.

Because this is the thing killing us, friends, the fact that I am not secretly shaming my husband and the children I bore. Rather, they may live as free men in the city of famous Athens, flourishing in their freedom of speech and honored for their mother. For a man is enslaved, even if he has a brave heart, whenever he is aware of his mother's or father's wicked deeds.

Phaedra highlights key elements of citizen participation that she wants to ensure her sons can enjoy as citizens—being free (ἐλεύθερος) and having free speech (παρρησία). She also states clearly for the audience that it is often a mother's reputation that is used against a man in public fora. For a *metroxenos*, public life was always a risky venture, but especially after 451 BCE when to be a *metroxenos* was to be a *nothos* and not a citizen, unless exception was made under the 430 BCE loop-hole. Hippolytus, whose mother (the Amazon) and Theseus presumably never married, is illegitimate and he bears the burden of having a foreign mother of ill-repute. His own sexuality—or rather his asexuality—is abnormal, even deviant and, like Phaedra's deviant sexual desire, is linked to his foreign mother.

The connection between foreign birth and sexually inappropriate behavior linked explicitly with Phaedra is further developed in the character of Hippolytus, who is so frequently linked to his Amazonian birth (10, 307, 351, 507) that it is nearly impossible to see him as anything but a male version of his mother's *ethnos*. Like the Danaids in *Suppliants*, Hippolytus rejects both sex and marriage (ἀναίνεται δὲ λέκτρα κοῦ ψαύει γάμων). In fact, much of the character of Hippolytus is prefigured by the Danaids. And yet, whereas the Danaids soften their stance against marriage on the advice of the Argive men, Hippolytus rejects the advice offered him by his servant that all the gods need reverencing and should not be ignored (88–105, 114–120). Aphrodite's prologue and the opening scene between Hippolytus and his servant make clear that Hippolytus' asexuality is unacceptable. His soul, as he says himself later, is that of a maiden girl (παρθένον ψυχὴν ἔχων, 1006). But what man can have the soul of a young, unwed girl? The son of an Amazon can. Hippolytus' rejection of

marriage and the arts of Aphrodite is a form of sexually deviant behavior that is explicitly linked to his mother and to his status as *metroxenos*. The repeated use of the phrase “the Amazon” should be understood as an insult about his birth. In a very real sense, manifested in his obsession with purity (and his *parthenos psyche*), he is the embodiment of the dangers the Amazon represented in the Athenian mythscape.



Figure 2.1 Amazonomachy. ca. 440–430 BCE. 1899,0721.5. ©Trustees of the British Museum.

Like the Furies, the Amazons were patently foreign women with no kinship ties to Athens or Greece. And like both the Furies and the Danaids, they threatened the city with destruction. Whereas Castriota and others have emphasized the images of Amazons, especially in public spaces like the Stoa Poikile and on the Parthenon, as allegories for the Persian Wars,⁵⁸ Andrew Stewart has argued that the increase in vase images around 450 BCE should also lead us to view them as reflections of anxiety over the increase in immigration in Athens that he and other scholars view as the impetus for the Citizenship Law.⁵⁹ There is nothing that requires us to accept the theory of a sudden population boom of nubile, young, sexually available immigrant

women in Athens in the 460s in order to recognize the dynamics that may be at play in the Amazon iconography, dynamics that seem to crystalize in an odd fashion within the character of Hippolytus. The Amazons, as Stewart emphasizes, are represented most frequently in the fifth century as *parthenoi*,⁶⁰ but they are also frequently marked as foreign through assimilation to representations of Scythian and Persia fighters. Frequently, their clothing is draped to hug the body, or reveals bare arms and legs in Doric fashion. In instances where they are covered up more completely in the Ionian fashion (used predominantly for representations of young women), the leggings and arm coverings are often animal print and form-fitted (Fig. 2.1). Thus they are marked both as young women who are sexually desirable and foreign, and yet virginal. The foreign clothing, similar to that of the Danaids, emphasizes the rejection of their expected role as women. This notion is emphasized in the figure of the Athena Parthenos as well. As Burkhard Fehr argues:

Viewing the Parthenos from her left side, one faced the depiction of the defeat of the Amazons against the Athenians on her shield. The female viewer could perceive this as a warning. . . . According to the Greeks, the Amazons were women who in their *hybris* had refused to accept the institution of the *oikos* and thus integration into civilized society. Their failed attack on Athens could be understood as a paradigm of what waited women who said no to the path into the *oikos* prescribed by Athena or who did not want to comply with its rules.⁶¹

The Amazons, then, are the opposite of the proper woman. In addition to their status as perennial *parthenoi*, they further reject proper female *aretê* and embrace the masculine version as warriors. The challenge such an embrace possesses is imagined on vase paintings as well where they are frequently *parthenoi* wielding axes, spears, and bows on horseback sometimes even in hoplite armor. In one instance, the Amazon even directly challenges the viewer of the vase with a face-front stare (Fig. 2.2).⁶² Lysias states of the Amazons in his funeral oration: “On account of their courage, they were considered more like men than women in their nature. For they seemed more to surpass men in spirit than to be inferior due to their form” (ἐνομίζοντο δὲ διὰ τὴν εὐψυχίαν μᾶλλον ἄνδρες ἢ διὰ τὴν φύσιν γυναῖκες: πλέον γὰρ ἑδόκουν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ταῖς ψυχαῖς διαφέρειν ἢ ταῖς ἰδέαις ἐλλείπειν, 2.4). This courageous spirit of the Amazons was turned against Athens, however, as they fought to repay Theseus for his attack on them. Such bravery could be properly harnessed to the city without sacrificing the citizen body, as the discussion of *Heraclidae* will demonstrate. But to be of use, the Amazon had to accept her place

and practice the woman's appropriate type of *sophrosynê*, much like Hippolytê (Antiopê) is said to have yielded to Theseus and fought beside him against her sisters⁶³ and sacrificed herself for the city by dying in the battle.

The problem of Hippolytus is part and parcel with his status as *metroxenos* because he has so clearly inherited his mother's nature. His rejection of women is only one facet of this Amazonian nature. His type of *aretê* is not the *aretê* of Theseus or what would be considered manly—he values above all his chastity (73–87, 102, 994–1006) going so far as to wish to leave his life as untainted by sex as when he entered it (87). It is not only his *psychê* that is perennially virginal, but his body as well. ⁶⁴ Theseus finds his behavior baffling, so baffling that his immediate response to Phaedra's note is to disbelieve his son's professions of sexual purity and lump his ascetic living together with the Orphics (948–957), whose odd beliefs and practices set them apart from others and who were classified in fifth-century thought as “notorious imposters” because no one could actually be as pure as they claimed to be.⁶⁵ His actions are equally unlike those of an appropriate man and mirror his mother's. When Phaedra is delirious from hunger and grief, she speaks of wanting to go into the mountains and forests (215–222 and 228–231):



Figure 2.2 Amazon warrior. ca. 460–450 BCE. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907 (07.286.86).

πέμπετέ μ' εἰς ὄρος· εἶμι πρὸς ὕλαν (215)
καὶ παρὰ πεύκας, ἵνα θηροφόνοι
στεΐβουσι κύνες
βαλιαῖς ἐλάφοις ἐγχριμπτόμεναι.
πρὸς θεῶν· ἔραμαι κυσὶ θωύξαι
καὶ παρὰ χαίταν ξανθὰν ῥῖψαι (220)

Θεσσαλὸν ὄρπακ', ἐπίλογχον ἔχουσ'
ἐν χειρὶ βέλος.

...

δέσποιν' ἀλίας Ἄρτεμι Λίμνας
καὶ γυμνασίων τῶν ἵπποκρότων,
εἴθε γενοίμαν ἐν σοῖς δαπέδοις
πῶλους Ἐνετὰς δαμαλιζομένα

Send me to the mountain! I shall go to the woods and beyond the pines where tramp the dogs that kill, wild animals pursuing dappled deer. By the gods! I long to howl to the dogs and throw a Thessalian javelin past my yellow flowing hair, holding a sharp edged weapon in my hands.

...

Artemis, mistress of salt marshes and of the training grounds of stamping horses, if only I could be on your grounds, taming the Venetian horses.

The Nurse speaks between each of these cries from Phaedra to express her bewilderment that Phaedra wants to hunt and drink from springs and ride horses. It is very much outside the normal expected behavior of a woman. Barrett suggests that Phaedra here is wishing she could be where Hippolytus is and do what he does.⁶⁶ Perhaps, instead, she wishes to *be* Hippolytus⁶⁷ or perhaps an Amazon. Or, perhaps she wishes to be free of her desire entirely and free of Hippolytus. To be away from the *oikos* is to be outside of propriety and the shame that accompanies its violations. The behavior Phaedra invokes is easily identifiable with both the Amazons and Hippolytus and is clearly marked as inappropriate. Inappropriate behavior not only for her, but for Hippolytus, too, and inherited, as with Phaedra, through the mother. Hippolytus' status as *nothos*, a status both he and Theseus comment upon (962–963, 1082–1083) make him *de facto* defective while his behaviors and nature mark him as an Amazon and, thus, no man.

The status of metics in *Hippolytus*, then, is troubling and pervasive. The main characters all are marked by their un-Athenian birth in different ways,⁶⁸ but it is the metic women, Phaedra and the Amazon, who are the true danger. Antiopê/Hippolytê never appears except as “the Amazon” and yet she marks every scene in the play. It is her child, Hippolytus, whose Amazonlike loathing for women and sex drives Aphrodite's revenge and thus the action of the play. Phaedra,

descended from a line of sexually transgressive women and dreaming in her delirium of a life outside the *oikos*, tries to be the good wife, but fails not for lack of trying, but because her very nature disallows it. The sea she crossed to make her “most unprofitable marriage” was a boundary that should not have been transgressed. The result was a contagious disease that, if not treated, could infect her children. The treatment, sadly, was her death. The specter of the Amazon, too, warns of the dangers of allowing foreign invasions into the citizen body. The Amazon is avatar of the independent metic woman—unable to marry and have a share in the city, but also unable to be tamed—and the child the Amazon left behind, Hippolytus, rejected the requirements of civilization and embraced his Amazonian nature and was thus rejected by his own father (who was quick to condemn one he could not truly understand). Whereas their deaths may have been tragic, both were the necessary outcome of an ideology premised on purity of descent and that excluded metic women as a result.

Managing Metics

Not all metic women in post-451 BCE tragedies are represented as diseases infecting the citizen body. In two plays, Euripides’ *Medea* and *Heraklidae*, metic women are represented as temporary benefits to the city so long as they are contained within proper metic spaces, separate from but within useful reach of the citizens. It is only if and when they cross the boundaries of that space that they become a threat. Metic women, in these plays, if properly managed, could still aid in the fertility and well-being of the polis as in *Eumenides* and *Suppliants*.

Phaedra was driven to love by Aphrodite and to delirium by her failed attempts to fight her nature, but the danger she posed to the city (as did Hippolytus) was that her children would inherit her deviant behavior. Medea, too, has Aphrodite to thank for her unfortunate love, but Medea, unlike Phaedra, does not act against her nature nor does she attempt to transgress the boundaries of her foreign status. It is only when she is forced outside the boundaries by the actions of Jason and King Kreon that she becomes dangerous. As with Hippolytus, the language of *metoikia* never appears in the play, but Medea is marked throughout as foreign and her status dependent on the good graces of the king. I discuss *Medea*, then, by examining

the dynamics of her relationship to Jason in Corinth as well as her projected status once she arrives in Athens after the events of the play. Whereas scholars often focus on her foreignness, they rarely (if ever) address her status in the city in connection with her marriage to Jason and his decision to marry into Corinth's citizen body. For she and Jason are both metics in Corinth and it is Jason, not Medea, who reflects the standard stereotype of the self-interested, dangerous metic seeking to use marriage to a citizen to infiltrate and usurp the polis; Jason is like Danaos, except that he offers himself in marriage, whereas Medea does not seek or desire to marry into the Corinthian or Athenian citizenry and bear children to citizens. Within this context, I first examine Jason's status in Corinth before moving on to Medea.

One of the most damning stereotypes used to discredit metics in Athens was their love of money and possessions over city.⁶⁹ It is what the Nurse fears the *nothos* Hippolytus will do (305–310) and also what Aethra fears people will say of Theseus in Euripides' *Suppliants* if he does not agree to help the Argives (314–325). As Jason makes clear, he is not marrying Kreon's daughter for love or, like Xouthos in *Ion*, because he helped protect the city from danger. Rather, he is marrying for personal gain (551–567, 593–597).⁷⁰ Nor does he seem aware that his hunt for personal status and gain through marriage is a danger to the city. Despite his history with Medea, Jason seems genuinely shocked that she is not taking his decision and her subsequent situation well.⁷¹ Whereas he acknowledges her anger, he underestimates its force.⁷² Most important, however, Jason fails to take any responsibility himself for his role in the death of the king and his daughter or in the city's troubles. He continually attempts to make Medea the party responsible by dismissing her anger as misguided and useless (448–458), driven by thoughts of sex (568–573), and ignorant of advantage (601–602). Whereas Jason seeks to mitigate his metic status by marriage to the royal house, he fails to account for the damage that might cause. Medea may be the one who destroys Kreon and his daughter, but it is Jason, not Medea, who transgresses the metic - citizen boundary and unleashes war—in the form of Medea's wrath—upon the city.⁷³

Medea is often understood as a figure of excess whose anger is beyond human, a woman scorned and deadly as a result. Her destruction of the Corinthian royal family and murder of her own children are contextualized by her long history of murderous and anti-social behavior. Before arriving in Corinth, she had killed her brother to help Jason escape her father⁷⁴ and tricked the daughters of Pelias

into boiling the severed parts of their aged father in a cauldron. It is striking, then, that Medea seems to have been contentedly settled in Corinth as a wife and mother for many years. There is no hint in her mythology or in the play itself that she had caused mischief in Corinth before Jason betrayed her. Within the context of the play, indeed, they must have been settled there long enough to have had their children, seen them grow past toddlerhood, and for Medea to have become part of the community so that she has regular social interactions with the local women who form the chorus and who are truly sympathetic to her until the end.⁷⁵ More important, they were there long enough for Jason to comfortably revise Medea's role in his triumphs⁷⁶ and to forget (at his own risk) her destructive power. The play's opening emphasizes that so long as Medea was secure in her status as wife and mother to her metic husband, she was no threat to the city (11–15). Jason himself was also welcome in the city and no danger to it so long as he maintained his position as metic man married to his metic wife and raising metic children. This content segregation in the play is reminiscent of similar segregation in Athenian social relations and finds expression in the shared iconography of family and marriage on metic tombs. So long as metic women had families segregated from the citizens, they could participate in the *aretê* granted citizen women.

Medea, of course, had a bad reputation even during the years in Corinth,⁷⁷ but she does not seem to have ever been dangerous or considered a threat until she expressed her unhappiness with Jason's new marriage.⁷⁸ Further, whereas it is common to view Medea's destructive power and sexuality as a product of her being a barbarian and woman, she is treated by Aegeus, the Athenian, as a friend and welcome guest in Athens. Her travel to Athens, prearranged with Aegeus, brings potential danger to the city, but she is brought to Athens primarily as a benefactor.⁷⁹ Like the Furies, she will aid in the fertility of Athens by using her skills with drugs to help cure Aegeus of his infertility (716–718).⁸⁰ How her destructive power will be contained in Athens is never made clear in the play, although, perhaps this is because it does not need to be because Medea is never eroticized. She comes to Athens as a physician of sorts (and as a demi-god); Aegeus and the Athenians need not fear she will attempt to cross the metic-citizen line any more than she did while in Corinth.

Just as in imaginary Corinth, metics in Athens could share in the economy and certain social relationships, like *xenia* and *philia*, and could have parallel social structures, but there was clearly anxiety over their presence as evident in the Citizenship Law's passage. But

even in the second half of the fifth century, women could still find themselves incorporated into the fabric of Athenian society in various ways. When Medea arrives in Athens, she will be coming not as an immigrant, but as a suppliant. And there is no indication within the play of her incorporation as was done with the Danaids and Furies. She is a temporary arrival who will leave when she has served her purpose. Medea, as far as the Euripides play is concerned, cannot hurt, only help the city. The myth of Medea in Athens outside of the play, however, suggests strongly that Medea's presence in Athens led to danger for the city. Numerous sixth- and fifth-century vase images show her attempt to poison Theseus when he arrives in Athens to meet his father Aegeus for the first time and take up his patrimony. If this is so, then Euripides' representation of Medea functions to diffuse the anxiety that might be associated with her foreignness and the destruction that she traditionally represents in the Athenian mythscape. Although she makes arrangements with Aegeus to seek exile in Athens, by the end of the play, she surely does not need it as she ascends to the status of a divinity and embarks upon her grandfather Helios' chariot.⁸¹ Thus her threat to Athens is even more mitigated because unlike the Furies, other dangerous divinities associated with fertility in Athens, Medea was not planning to stay permanently nor did she come initially to destroy the city. In the figure of Medea, then, we see the two sides of the ideology of the metic woman who is no threat and a benefit to the city so long as her fertility and sexuality either are contained within a proper metic-metic relationship (as in Corinth) or harnessed for the benefit of the city (as in Athens).

A similar notion of the beneficial metic woman appears in Euripides' *Heraklidae* in the person of the daughter of Herakles, who sacrifices herself in order to ensure the safety of Athens and victory in war. Although she is not called a metic in the play, she and her siblings do come to Athens as suppliants seeking an extended refuge (as the Danaids did) and would have been recognized by the audience as metics/immigrants, especially within the scope of allied immigration (especially of the Plataeans) in the early years of the Peloponnesian War.⁸² Her sacrifice, while showing what patriotic devotion a metic can bring to her new city, also suggests that ways of incorporating such immigrants were fraught with difficulty. As with *Medea*, I argue that metics could still be represented as a benefit to the city after the passage of the Citizenship Law, so long as they maintained separate social space— segregated to a metic-only space

within Athens.⁸³ Nor is it a coincidence, I suggest, that this rehabilitation comes in a play staged after the beginning of the Peloponnesian War and the plague, when metics became more valuable to the city for the war effort. The fact that the daughter of Herakles comes as a political exile and not on her own, but with men of military age, also plays a role in her heroization.

In *Heraklidae*, the children of Herakles, Iolaus and Alkmenê have been driven from their home, city to city, by the relentless pursuit of Eurytheus, king of Argos. They finally arrive in Athens where Demophon agrees to accept them as suppliants despite the war with Argos that will certainly be the result. He then learns from oracles that only the sacrifice of a *parthenos* to Persephone will ensure victory in battle against the invading Argive army.⁸⁴ Demophon is, rightly, unwilling to sacrifice his own child or force any Athenian to do so. To do so would be to risk *stasis* in the city (410–419). When things look their bleakest, though, and it looks as if the political exiles will need to go into exile once again, a daughter of Herakles comes forward and offers herself as the sacrifice.⁸⁵

This daughter, like the other daughters of the play, is emphatically ‘proper.’ When the scene is first set by Iolaus, he tells us that the daughters and Alkmene are all inside the temple whereas he and the sons sit at the altars outside (40–43). The daughters remain inside out of a sense of propriety: “We are ashamed to bring young unmarried women before a crowd, setting them before the altar”(νέας γὰρ παρθένους αἰδούμεθα / ὄχλῳ πελάζειν κάπιβωμιοστατεῖν, 43–44). The daughter herself also notes that she only emerges from the temple because she has heard the trouble and feels she must inquire (478–483), but reminds Demophon, Iolaus, and the audience that she understands a woman’s place is silent and inside: “For a woman, silence and moderation are a most beautiful thing, and remaining quiet in the house” (γυναικὶ γὰρ σιγὴ τε καὶ τὸ σωφρονεῖν / κάλλιστον εἶσω θ’ ἥσυχον μένειν δόμων, 476–477). And yet, love of her family and knowledge of her illustrious birth compel her to come out and offer her own life to save Athens. She is no eroticized, dangerous foreign woman.⁸⁶

The daughter sees her self-sacrifice as a way to prove the value of herself and her siblings to the city (503–519):

τί φήσομεν γάρ, εἰ πόλις μὲν ἀξιοῖ
κίνδυνον ἡμῶν οὐνεκ' αἶρεσθαι μέγαν,
αὐτοὶ δὲ προστιθέντες ἄλλοισιν πόνους,
παρόν σφε σῶσαι, φευξόμεσθα μὴ θανεῖν;
οὐ δῆτ', ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ γέλωτος ἄξια,
στένειν μὲν ἰκέτας δαιμόνων καθημένους,

πατρὸς δ' ἐκείνου φύντας οὗ πεφύκαμεν
κακοὺς ὀρᾶσθαι· ποῦ τάδ' ἐν χρηστοῖς πρέπει; (510)
κάλλιον, οἶμαι, τῆσδ'—ὃ μὴ τύχοι ποτέ—
πόλεως ἀλούσης χειῖρας εἰς ἐχθρῶν πεσεῖν
κᾶπειτ' ἄτιμα πατρὸς οὔσαν εὐγενοῦς
παθοῦσαν Ἄιδην μηδὲν ἥσσον εἰσιδεῖν.
ἀλλ' ἐκπεσοῦσα τῆσδ' ἀλητεύσω χθονός;
κοῦκ αἰσχυνοῦμαι δῆτ', ἐὰν δὴ τις λέγῃ
Τί δεῦρ' ἀφίκεσθ' ἰκεσίοισι σὺν κλάδοις
αὐτοὶ φιλοψυχοῦντες; ἔξιτε χθονός·
κακοῖς γὰρ ἡμεῖς οὐ προσωφελήσομεν.

What, then, shall we say if the polis decides to take a great risk for our sake but we ourselves, who cause others troubles, run away for fear of dying although it is in our power to preserve them? Certainly not! Since, you know, to sit groaning as suppliants of the gods is worthy of mockery and to be shown to be cowards when we are children of this father. How can this be suitable among excellent men? If this city is captured (may it never happen), it is more splendid for me to fall into the enemies' hands and die suffering dishonor although from a noble father. But shall I be expelled from this land and wander? Shall I not be ashamed then, if ever someone should ask "Why did you come here with suppliant branches when you yourself were afraid of death? Get out of the land! For we do not help cowards."

Her opening statement suggests that she is trying to either preempt or act against a stereotype that exiles such as they only take from the city and do not give. As noted above, one of the slanders often leveled at

metics was that they had no loyalty to their own city, choosing to leave it, and so could not be expected to have any to their new city.⁸⁷ It was personal profit that motivated them, not love of city.⁸⁸ The daughter expressly rejects the behavior of anyone, citizen or metic, who, like Philon in Lysias 31, refuses to offer aid when possible to the city in order to save their own life or wealth. The daughter's motivation, in fact, reflects the type of shame that drives citizen courage in numerous classical texts. She specifically notes the shame she would incur should she refuse to die honorably for the city (516) and Demophon calls her deed courageous (εὐψυχίας, 569). He further calls her the bravest woman he has ever known (τλημονεστάτην δέ σε πασῶν γυναικῶν εἶδον ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐγώ, 570–571) and promises to bury her “beautifully” (σε κ οσμεῖσθαι καλῶς, 568).⁸⁹ The example of Aethra in *Suppliants* is again germane. Although a metic woman herself, she encourages Theseus to embrace the dangers the Argive suppliants represent because it brings glory to the city and wards off the talk, leveled at Theseus perhaps because he is a *metroxenos*, of self-interest. There is a strong sense, then, that the self-sacrifice of Herakles' daughter is intended to demonstrate that even metics can be faithful to their adopted city and embrace that *kalliston* thing, “to die gloriously” (εὐκλεῶς λιπεῖν βίον, 534).⁹⁰

It is also significant that it is Persephone who is seeking the sacrifice because the daughter's reasoning clearly equates her death with marriage: “This is my treasure in place of children and my maidenhood if there is indeed anything below the earth” (τάδ' ἀντὶ παίδων ἐστὶ μοι κειμήλια καὶ παρθενείας, εἴ τι δὴ κάτω χθονός, 591–592).⁹¹ In a sense, the sacrifice she makes can only be made by a woman because her death is essentially a marriage to the land. Although it is unclear if the Heraklidae do settle in Athens as metics at the end of the play once Eurystheus is dead, the daughter considers Athens her new home and thinks in terms of what her possibilities would be there if she survives the war (520–526):

ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέντοι, τῶνδε μὲν τεθνηκότων,
αὐτὴ δὲ σωθεῖσ', ἐλπίδ' εὖ πράξειν ἔχω·
πολλοὶ γὰρ ἤδη τῇδε προὔδοσαν φίλους.
τίς γὰρ κόρην ἔρημον ἢ δάμαρτ' ἔχειν
ἢ παιδοποιεῖν ἐξ ἐμοῦ βουλήσεται;
οὐκουν θανεῖν ἄμεινον ἢ τούτων τυχεῖν
ἀναξίαν;

But if these men die and I live, I have no expectation of living well. Indeed, many men have previously betrayed friends for this reason. Well, who would wish to have a girl without family either to wed or to have children from me? Is it not better to die than to obtain responsibility for these things?

She also makes clear that her deed is a substitute for children and her proper burial the equivalent of her lost marriage rites, as her final request to her siblings shows (586–590):

κἄν ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων
καὶ νόστος ὑμῖν εὐρεθῇ ποτ' ἐκ θεῶν,
μέμνησθε τὴν σώτειραν ὥς θάψαι χρεῶν·
κάλλιστά τοι δίκαιον· οὐ γὰρ ἐνδεὴς
ὑμῖν παρέστην ἀλλὰ προὔθανον γένους.

If ever a respite from trouble and a return home is found for you from the gods, remember how it is right to bury the woman who saved you. A most beautiful thing is just, you know. Because I did not fail to stand by you, but I died for the clan.

The daughter views her sacrifice, then, as an alternative to marriage and childbirth and she is given in sacrifice to the goddess whose death and marriage were one and who, through her own marriage/death became a protecting goddess of Athens' fertility.⁹² And her burial in Athens, which Demophon promises, grants her permanent metic status within Athens, as the parallel burial of Eurystheus at the end of the play emphasizes when he explicitly calls himself a metic and, like the Furies, a well-minded savior in the ground bringing fear to Athens' enemies, specifically the descendants of the Heraklidae (καὶ σοὶ μὲν εὖνους καὶ πόλει σωτήριος μέτοικ' ὅς αἰεὶ κείσομαι κατὰ χθονός, τοῖς τῶνδε δ' ἐκγόνοισι πολεμιώτατος, 1032–1035).⁹³ By

substituting her glorious death for marriage and childbirth, the metic maiden brings victory to Athens, a role at once unusual for a woman, but proper for balancing the benefits metics provided Athens with the ideological insistence that they remain outside the citizen body.⁹⁴

Imagining Metic Women

As the representations of metic women in tragedy show, there are generally two potential paths such women could follow within the scope of the ideology of metic women,⁹⁵ both bound up in their status as simultaneously women and foreign. On the one hand, before 451 BCE, they could enter into the citizen body through marriage and childbearing, both fulfilling their proper role as women and aligning their sexuality with the fertility and life of the polis; even if that sexuality had a dangerous aspect to it, it could be tamed. As the *Suppliants* suggests, refusal to accept this role in the city brings war and *stasis* whereas reconciliation brings new peace to Argos by the trilogy's end and a guarantee of new marriages and children. The Furies as well come to Athens and provide for the protection of marriage and childbearing. In the plays produced after 451 BCE, the metic women are presented as beneficial to Athens so long as they embrace the standards of their gender through marriage and childbirth with another metic and do not transgress citizen space. The foreignness of Medea is mitigated so long as her marriage to Jason continues and again after she becomes divine, whereas the daughter of Herakles embraces a *kalos thanatos* as a substitute for marriage and children. Phaedra, however, is a disease that infects and wreaks havoc on the city and family because of her unacceptable sexual deviance. Thus the metic woman is no threat so long as she remains separated from the citizen body, whereas it is the metic men and *metroxenoi* Jason, Danaos, and Hippolytus, who seem to pose the greater threat. In the woman who rejects her designated woman's role, however, foreignness and danger are emphasized as with Phaedra and Medea (in Kreon's view), a division in representing foreign women emphasized not only in tragedy, but also in other artistic media such as vase painting and grave sculpture.

As the discussion of Amazon iconography above suggested, foreign women could be represented in image as well as text as threatening to

the city, but they could also be represented as beneficial to the *oikos* and the polis and a normal part of Athenian life. If the Amazon iconography reminds one of dangerously sexually deviant metic women like the Danaids and Pheadra, tomb images of metic women reflect their opposites. Whereas Amazons represent the threat and the anxiety consistent with transgressive behavior and status, the tombs show that a metic woman could conform to Athenian standards and be integrated safely into the city as a wife and mother or even as midwife—the two sides of Medea. Had she ended her days as wife to Jason and mother of their children,⁹⁶ she may have been commemorated much as any citizen wife was commemorated, perhaps as Theano the Erythrian was commemorated by her husband Ktesilaos (Fig. 2.3), shown together as caring husband and demure wife. Had Medea died at Athens after helping Aegeus and his family bear many children, perhaps she would have received commemoration as Phanostrate the midwife and doctor did (Fig. 5.4), thanked by her *prostates* for her successful ministrations and pictured surrounded by the children she helped bring into the world and keep healthy.⁹⁷ The daughter of Herakles would have found her tomb decorated in the same manner, perhaps, as any *parthenos* who died before marriage, pictured as a maid who died before reaching her *telos* as wife and mother.

In the years following the Citizenship Law, women and family scenes appeared in great numbers on Athenian tombs, a reflection, as Robin Osborne has argued, of changes in the value placed on citizen wives because of the law.⁹⁸ The law, Osborne suggests, was not prescriptive, but rather reflected changes in marriage practices after 480 BCE that had already become standard by the 450s.⁹⁹ After the Persian Wars, we see frequent mention on *ostraka* of individuals being foreign-born, as if their status as *metroxenoi* made them suspiciously undemocratic and suggesting a negative attitude towards foreign marriages.¹⁰⁰ The result of the law, according to Osborne, is not a change in who Athenian men married, but rather how Athenians treated their wives. There was no anxiety over a large influx of young, nubile, foreign women threatening Athenian inheritance, he suggests, although there was increased anxiety over enforcing norms of wifely behavior.¹⁰¹ According to most data available, there was an increase in the images of women on Attic gravestones after 451 BCE that all share similar iconography focused on the family unit and the role of the woman in the family.¹⁰² This focus was political in a sense—the new law focused citizenship more firmly on both the family unit and

on the status of the mother. As is obvious, however, from even a cursory glance at the names and ethnics on these tombs, many are of metic women. Osborne's explanation for this is that there was "pressure on the metic community to conform to local practice" and a reality of the sculptor's workshop that would guarantee that "metic monuments were shaped in the image of citizen monuments."¹⁰³ While there are exceptions to this, especially in the fourth century, the general sense of conformity to Athenian gender expectations reflected in metic tombs is important. Metic women were women first and foreign only if they transgressed the expectations of their gender.

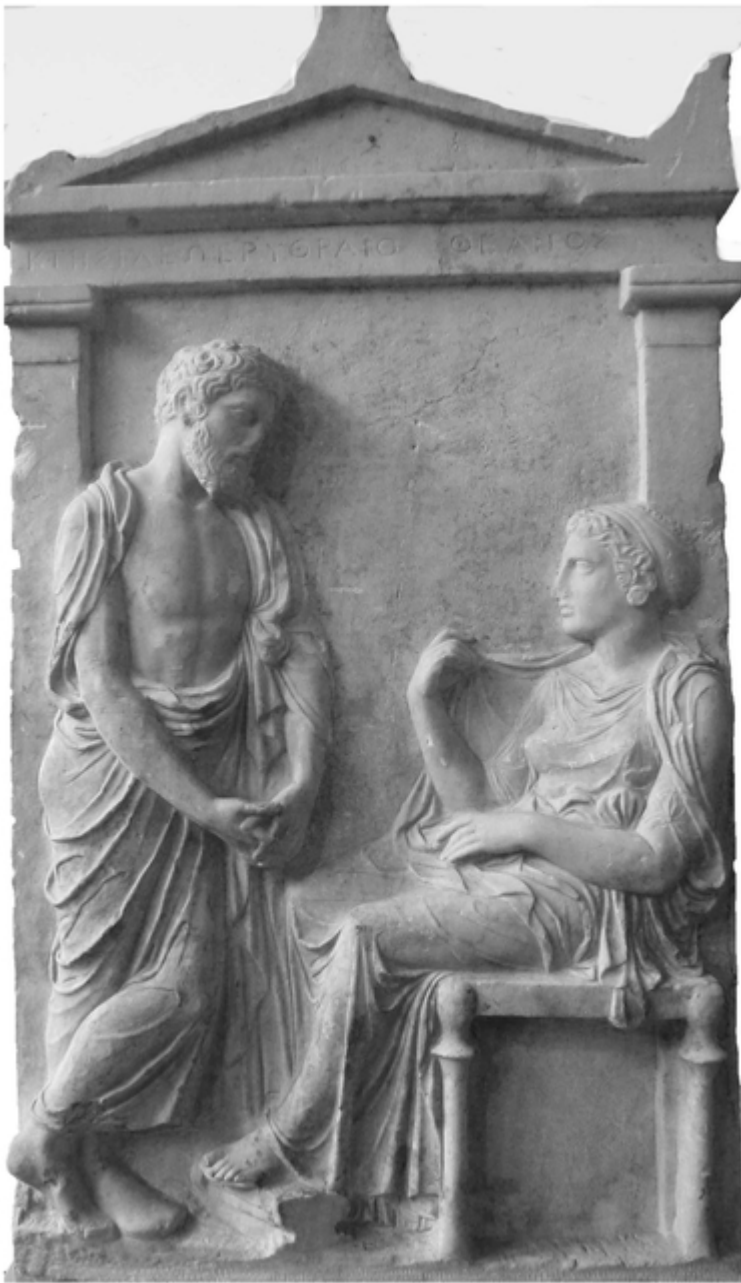


Figure 2.3 Grave *stele*, Theano of Erythrai. ca. 400 BCE. National Archaeological Museum, Athens 3472.

Athens had some of the most restrictive regulations regarding the economic and public rights of women.¹⁰⁴ When metic women arrived in Athens from their native cities, it is unclear that they understood

how different their status would be, not just as permanent immigrants, but as women. Those women who came to Athens as part of a family already, not uncommon with political exiles, were able to more easily assimilate to gender norms if they stayed within those boundaries. The images of metic women on tombs is overwhelmingly similar to those of citizen wives, daughters, and mothers because they too were wives, daughters, and mothers, just of metic families. This iconography reflects, and perhaps, reinforces the representations of metic women in the tragedies. A good metic woman, like the good citizen woman, fulfilled her duty as a woman by marrying and reproducing. After 451 BCE, she was more strictly encouraged to do so only with metic men. And it was in burial that her achievement could be recognized as with the burial of the daughter of Herakles and, to a lesser extent, that of the Furies.

Conclusion

In the tragedies of Aeschylus and Euripides, metic women appear as an initial threat to the city, but are then incorporated into the city as either benefactors and protectors of marriage and childbirth or as participants in those womanly institutions. This incorporation through proper performance of their roles as women supersedes their status as foreigners. Under the appropriate conditions, metic women could benefit and have a share in the city. The tombs of metic women in the classical period reflect this possibility and reflect as well the mythical benefactions that come with burial. The Furies and the daughter of Herakles are both interred and through this burial (one figurative, the other literal), they become permanent metics of Athens to the benefit of both the city and themselves. This burial however, like the domestic iconography on the tombs, is used for those women who understand their place in both the gender and ethnic hierarchies. Women who remain outside of the boundaries placed on them by those hierarchies, like Medea and like the Danaids, are threatening to the stability of the city and must be incorporated in other ways. Before 451 BCE, the ethnic status of the woman was inconsequential and so she could be incorporated through conformity only to gender norms. After 451 BCE, other avenues needed to be sought out for metic women, like Amazons who rejected their roles as wives and child

bearers, needed to be kept out, warded off, or demonized.

Antigone reflects, perhaps most accurately, the position of the metic woman in Athens when she equates being entombed alive as entering into a metic state, a contingent and unstable state that was created by Kreon and could be rescinded by him as well. Demographically speaking, it is clear that we should not take the imagined threat posed by metic women and their marriages as a serious reality before the passage of the Citizenship Law any more than we should take an Amazon invasion as a real threat to Athenian sovereignty. And yet the ideology reflected in the tragedies and the mythical iconography had a real world impact on the legally powerless metic women of classical Athens. It is not a coincidence that the same women who were frequently slandered in the law courts and on the comic stage as prostitutes, women specifically like Aspasia, were metic women who had transgressed the boundary between metic and citizen. The image of the sexually transgressive woman found in Phaedra (and the Danaids) would devolve in the courts and on the comic stage (and probably in everyday conversations) to calling women who did not conform to gender norms whores. Metic women without family and citizenship were especially vulnerable to the charge.

The real life effects of this particular strand of the ideology on metic women in post-451 BCE Athens seems to have been relentless, especially in the years after the reinstatement of the law in 403 BCE. Metic women who interacted with citizen men were slandered and reviled in the courts and on stage and in other public fora in the manner best suited to demonstrate their mercenary natures and their unsuitability to becoming citizen wives. They became prostitutes. Not real prostitutes, but imaginary ones. As the Athenians further developed a sense of ethnic and social superiority over the course of the fifth century, metic women found themselves the victims of a form of ideological warfare. They became the ultimate enemy of the Athenian state and thus found themselves spoken of and represented only as courtesans, concubines, and slaves. But we should not mistake this ideology of the metic woman, this tragic fantasy, for reality. The reality of these women's lives was probably quite different.

Notes

1. Pomperoy (1994) xv. Women who were surely metics appear in Old Comedy, which Pomeroy privileges as a source, but they are not addressed as metics or foreigners, but typically as prostitutes, flute girls, and other sexualized

women. Even when an historical figure like Aspasia appears, it is in such a context, which may be why scholars tend to discuss them in terms of gender and sexuality instead of ethnicity and legal status.

2. See Boedeker (1998) on the reuse of myth for contemporary purposes, especially political and social, in fifth-century Athens.
3. All metics needed a *prostates*, but the men could present their own cases in certain courts, such as that of the *polemarch*, whereas the women could not. Further, the metic woman could probably be slandered through accusations of inappropriate relations with her representative in court, discrediting both her and her *prostates*. One wonders how many women were said to be prostitutes or madams for their *prostates* by the enemies of the *prostates*.
4. The scholarship on this role for tragedy is large. For political/civic identity, see, for example, Lape (2010), Kennedy (2009), and Goldhill (1987); on ethnicity, see E. Hall (1989) and Bacon (1961); the corpus on gender and tragedy is large, but see, for example, Foley (2009), McClure (1999), and Loraux (1991).
5. See Chapter 1, this volume, for discussion of the law's varied enforcement.
6. Ethnicity seems always to have been a facet of metic studies. Whitehead (1977) 110–114 focuses on a concept of “race” defined within terms of the Greek/barbarian dichotomy, but the intense focus on Greek ethnicity by scholars in recent decades has shown that Greekness was not nearly as stable as earlier scholars had assumed.
7. Despite the discovery of Oxy. 2256 fr. 3, the date for the *Suppliants* is still debated. Based on the restoration of the archon Archedemos in line 1, the play is now often dated to 463 BCE. Scullion (2002) 81–101 is among a handful of scholars who argue that the play was likely performed in the 470s on stylistic grounds. I prefer the later date based on historical and intellectual context.
8. I have decided not to include discussion of Euripides' *Andromache* (ca. 415 BCE) in this chapter because it is not set in Athens nor does it concern itself with Athenian heroes. However, the dynamics of the play could be interpreted as representing citizen anxieties over the exceptions that allowed sons of foreign women to become legitimate heirs in the absence of a child from one's citizen wife. For such an interpretation, see Vester (2009) 293–305. I disagree, however, with both Vester's and Patterson's (1991) tendency to call *Andromache* a slave *pallakê* -concubine in their discussions, a concern I address in Chapter 4, this volume. I also disagree that the relationship represented in the play is bigamous.
9. Bakewell (2013) 17–19, 49–57. *IG* 1 3 244 is either earlier or contemporary and must be considered as part of the same climate. It clearly distinguishes deme members from metics for civic purposes.
10. Patterson (1981) 134–135.
11. Bakewell (2013) 113–120, especially.
12. A point emphasized by both Lape (2010) 46–50 and Bakewell (2013) 35–40.

13. This type of chauvinism is also not unique to the Athenians, but is apparent in the hierarchies at the Persian court and in the inscriptions of the Achaemenid kings Darius and Xerxes. Given how much of the imperial apparatus the Athenians adopted from their Achaemenid “frenemies,” it would not be surprising if their increased chauvinism was also inspired by Achaemenid rhetoric. It may also be an inherent component of imperialism in multicultural environments. On Athenian adoption of Persian imperial practices, see Raaflaub (2009). On the adoption of Achaemenid imperial rhetoric and iconography in tragedy, see Kennedy (2013).
14. The Danaids further suggest that Pelasgos is answerable to no institutions, granting him Zeus-like powers in decision making. Scholars debate as to whether Pelasgos has the authority to accept the Danaids’ supplication and refrains from using it or does not have the authority. See Garvie (2006) 150–154 for an overview.
15. A legality Pelasgos recognizes and is wary of questioning (386–390). In fact, when he asks the Danaids if the marriage is legal, they deflect the subject away from rejection of marriage to their cousins specifically to rejection of marriage in general (391–395).
16. This word can also mean wantonness, which embeds further the idea that the girls practically ooze sexuality and are calling out to be “plucked.”
17. Although they soundly reject marriage as part of their plea to Pelasgos and the Argives for asylum, they threaten to undress in front of them to kill themselves (Bakewell (2013) 38–39). Danaos’ own appeal that they follow moderation (994–1013) serves more likely to remind the Argives on stage of the Danaids’ availability and Danaos, too, receives a similar response, softening the Danaids’ original position. They will protect their “ripening” (ὀπώρας, 1015) *unless the gods decide differently* (εἰ γάρ τι μὴ θεοῖς βεβούλευται νέον, 1016) and if the sex is voluntary, not forced (μηδ’ ὑπ’ ἀνάγκας τέλος ἔλθοι Κυθερείας, 1031–1032). Their request that such a change only happen after their death (1032) is quickly softened as the Argive spearmen remind them of the power of Aphrodite (1036–1051) so that they return again as they leave the stage to rejecting only the Egyptians and forced marriage, not sexuality and Eros (1062–1067).
18. This is the position of Bakewell (2013) Chapter 2.
19. Garvie (2006) 163–233 *passim*. There are very few fragments of the other plays in the Danaid trilogy, but these aspects of the story seem secure.
20. The request is based on the non-Greek appearance of the Danaids and Danaos: “We consider it of great worth to have found a patron (*proxenos*) so respectful. Send escorts and guides from among the inhabitants (*egchorios*) with me so we may find where the gods who protect your city have their altars at the temple porches and their . . . seats, and so that we may go safely through the town. My appearance is unlike yours, for the Nile and Inachos nourish a race unlike yours. Take care that boldness not give birth to fear; for in ignorance men have killed a friend.” Danaos does not use the term *prostates*, an indication, perhaps, of the still nascent status of *metoikia*.
21. As Bakewell (2013) 45 notes, “It seems that everyone in *Suppliant Women* is

playing *παισσοί*. But while Pelasgos and the other Argives are busy losing to the Egyptian suitors at *Polis*, crafty Danaos proves a champion at *Pente Grammai*. ” *Polis* is a version of *pestoi* that uses the democratic city as its basic structure. *Pente Grammai* is more like Risk or Stratego, where players compete for “supreme status” (44). Danaos is also the force behind the Danaids’ murder of their cousins after the marriage. He may or may not have played a role in arranging Argive marriages for them in the final play.

22. These are not independent women. Bakewell (2013) 40–42 emphasizes that Danaos hides and allows Pelasgos to believe at first the women are without a *kurios*, but this should be understood as part of Danaos’ strategy to win protection from the Argives by emphasizing the rejection of the marriage for his daughters, not the accompanying loss of political power and position in Egypt the marriage signifies. Pelasgos is more likely to accept women running from foreign marriage than a political exile fleeing after losing a power struggle.
23. The ostracisms included men from families with ties to the Peisistratids, especially. This was likely a response to the presence of Hippias at Marathon with the Persians. A number of the Alkmaeonids were ostracized, like Xanthippos, Perikles’ father, in 484 BCE and Megakles, son of Hippokrates, in 487/6 BCE. Megakles was most likely the grandson of Peisistratos on his mother’s side and Xanthippos was married to Agaristê, the sister of Megakles, also a Peisistratid through their mother Koisyra (see Lavelle (1989), contra *APF* 449–450). Hipparchos, either husband or son of Hippias’ daughter (*APF* 451), was ostracized in 488/7 BCE. His is the first known ostracism under the Kleisthenic law. Kallixenos, another Alkmaeonid and relation of the Peisistratids, was ostracized in 483 BCE.
24. For example, Kimon was the son of Hegisipylê, daughter of King Olorus of Thrace. Peisistratos married Koisyra, the daughter of a wealthy and powerful Eretrian noble, and their daughter (also Koisyra) was the mother of Megakles. Kleisthenes was the son of Agaristê, daughter of Kleisthenes, tyrant of Sikyon. Themistokles’ mother was either a Thracian, Karian, or Halikarnassian aristocrat.
25. A possibility the Athenians seem well aware of because, in the mass grant of citizenship to the Samians in 405/3 (ML 94), they stipulated that only those who had fled to Athens or who had stayed in Samos to fight for the city were eligible—any who sided with Sparta need not apply.
26. A point Bakewell (1997) and (2013) 109–113 emphasizes as explicitly linked to their metic status because metics could not own property, but had to lease land and homes. On the use of the term *astoxenoi* and its potential range of meanings, see Petre (1980).
27. Whereas Danaos is thought to have become tyrant after the death of Pelasgos, it is his daughter Hypermnestra and her Egyptian husband Lynceus who become rulers in Argos at the end of the trilogy, or at least will be the founders of the new dynasty from which men like Heracles and the Atreidai later descend.
28. Peisistratos is said to have financed his final coup in Athens through a

marriage to the Eretrian nobility (Lavelle (2005) 134–136). Isagoras called in Spartan troops to help establish his control after the fall of Hippias. Hippias himself, of course, accompanied the Persian invasion at Marathon. It is not surprising, then, that the earliest ostracisms were of Peisistratid friends and relations and of men with connections to foreign powers, like the Alkmaeonids and Kimon.

29. For example, Podlecki (1999), Rosenbloom (1995), and Kennedy (2006) and (2009).
30. Tzanetou (2012) 31–65; Bakewell (2013) 122–123.
31. Tzanetou (2012) 53–63. She also recognizes this dynamic, most similarly, in Euripides' *Heraklidae* (100–102). In both cases, the Athenians convert an external threat into a lasting benefit for the city.
32. Here and again at 808–822.
33. 2.43.1: ἀλλὰ μάλλον τὴν τῆς πόλεως δύνανται καθ' ἡμέραν ἔργῳ θεωμένους καὶ ἐραστὰς γιγνομένους αὐτῆς, (“But instead, marvel daily at the power of the city and become her lover”). In both cases as well, it is the glory of the city that reflects back onto the individuals. The Furies' honors will increase as Athens' honors increase (853–854) and the soldiers who died in war gain glory from the greatness of the city (2.43). Further, in both instances, their honors lie under the Attic soil—the Furies in their cave and the soldiers in their public grave. Both will also receive honors from the citizens—the Furies will receive dedications from processions of men and women, the soldiers receive their public funeral procession, oration, and inscription.
34. It is a similar dynamic to Euripides' *Hippolytus*, wherein Hippolytus is warned that rejecting Aphrodite is dangerous, and yet he persists in rejecting both marriage and sexuality and pays a horrible price at Aphrodite's instigation.
35. Bakewell (2013) 61–67, 79–81. The final scene of *Suppliants* shows the chorus of Argives warning the Danaids that one should not reject Aphrodite while one of the only fragments of substance from the *Danaids*, the final play in the trilogy, is a speech of Aphrodite that suggests the Danaids have given into nature and are marrying properly, i.e. they will not kill their husbands this time. Although it has frequently been argued that the final play contained a trial scene, it is unnecessary that the speech of Aphrodite be part of a trial for the Danaids. There is no clear indication in the tradition or the fragments that a court was represented on the stage.
36. Watson (2010) 270 suggests that the terms *metoikos* and *metoikia* in Aeschylus should not be understood as the technical “one who pays the metic tax,” but should be translated simply as “immigrant.” This is a translation slight of hand, however. It may differentiate them from *xenoi* who visit for a short time but do not remain for an extended period (and perhaps implies an intention for coming to the city). It does not, however, alter any legal status the term implies.
37. Aristotle *Pol.* 1275a22 uses this phrase when discussing what it means to be a citizen, but it is unclear whether the phrase is part of fifth-century discourses on citizenship.

38. Bakewell (2013) 64–65.
39. Some may say it is dangerous to consider the rest of the trilogy given its fragmented nature. And yet, the fragments are suggestive enough for us to recognize that the Danaids *are* integrated through marriage.
40. In addition to financial considerations, citizen men also might prefer a second marriage that produced legitimate, but not citizen offspring. Inheritance priorities being what they were, marriage to a well-off metic family could have improved a citizen family's financial position without creating more potential claims on property.
41. Osborne (2011) 24.
42. Osborne (2011) 78–79. The exception, of course, is when they are represented as priestesses in religious scenes.
43. Quoted by Whitehead (1977) 36. Whitehead disagrees with Jebb's assessment on the specific lines of the *OT* but has no comment on the uses in *Antigone*. Nor do Jebb's comments on any of these lines in *Antigone* discuss the meaning of *metoikos*.
44. Grene (1991) 194 translates *metoikos* as “have a home in common.”
45. For example, Woodruff (2003) 40 translates the lines, “I am going to them now, Unholy and unmarried, to lodge with them.” Grene (1991) 194 renders the line “To them I am going to share their home, the curse on me, too, and unmarried.”
46. In Troezen where they live in exile, however, only Phaedra is a metic. Hippolytus is called a *polites* at line 12 and is under the guardianship of Pittheus, Theseus' grandfather. It is also possible that Theseus is king in Troezen as well as Athens.
47. The phrase φρονούσιν μέγα is frequently attached to (would-be) tyrants and hints at anxiety over Hippolytus' status as foreigner and potential usurper.
48. And given that this play comes long after the establishment of both *metoikia* and the Citizenship Law, the lack of metic language is less striking than its appearance would be. The appearance of the language and the explanations in *Suppliants* of what *metoikia* entails suggest newness in the 460s, as Bakewell (2013) has argued. After decades of usage, the status of most metics would go without saying. It is only in unusual cases (such as with Eurystheus in *Heraklidae*) that the status would need to be emphasized.
49. By repeated references to Kekrops, Erechtheus, Pallas, the Akropolis—Aphrodite's prologue situates the story clearly in the Athenian landscape—and by reference to Theseus as the ruler of the Erechtheids (151–152), the Athenocentric nature of the myth is emphasized despite its setting outside of Athens. Theseus himself, however, is not descended from the autochthons, and his own behaviors reflect his ambiguous and questionable birth status.
50. For example, she is called the “Cretan maid” (372), worries about disgracing her Cretan home (719), and news from Crete is named as a potential source of her anguish (155–160).
51. Dictynna is thought to be a Cretan version of Artemis.

52. Hecate's association with magic should also not be ignored here given the undertone in the play of foreignness and the references to a *pharmakon* (or a φίλτρα θελκτήρια, "magical love charm," at 509) that may help her, one that requires something of Hippolytus' to be effective.
53. On the role of Pasiphae in the play, see Reckford (1974) 307–328.
54. As opposed to Theseus abandoning Ariadne on Naxos while she slept and was then found by Dionysus, who married her. Barrett (1992) 222 views this as an abbreviated reference instead to the version of the myth in which she is killed by Artemis for being unfaithful to her half-brother.
55. Others translate the ὥς as "so" to act as emphatic, but the τρίτη suggests she is linking their disasters as similar.
56. The accent for both words is the same in the dative singular.
57. A reflection, perhaps of the exceptions made to the Citizenship Law after 430 BCE, but also of anxiety that such an exception may have caused in some Athenians.
58. Castriota (1992) 43–58, especially.
59. Stewart (1995) 571–597. He follows Patterson (1981) in the emphasis on an immigration-driven population crisis in the decades 480–450 BCE.
60. Stewart (1995) 578–585.
61. Fehr (2011) 132. The Nike statue is held in the right hand. Fehr suggests she represents the promise and gift to the woman who excels at domestic virtues.
62. Another Attic vase (Vatican 632; ARV 974.28) shows the ambiguous status of the Amazon as both desirable and threatening. The Amazon is being pursued by a heroic male figure. She is dressed in patterned sleeves and leggings under a draped, short, double-layered chiton with a Scythian cap and carries an axe while the Greek youth carries a spear. She is running forward with her head turned back, sharing a desirous gaze with her pursuer. They both reach out towards the other with their unweaponed hands. Both pursuer and pursued have slight smiles on their faces and are labeled; above the man is *kalos* and above the Amazon is *kalê*. The vase likely dates to between 525–475 BCE and was found in Etruria.
63. Stewart (1995) 584–585.
64. His mind, however, has been tainted because he has "heard about" sex and seen it in images (1004–1005).
65. Barrett (1992) 342.
66. Barrett (1992) 200. Goff (1990) 33 cites others such as Barlow and Conacher in the same vein as well as Dodds, who reads the cries as displacement of her desire for Hippolytus to other acts. Goff herself understands the ranting as "metaphor and metonymy in order to preserve anonymity" and a reflection of the instability of her speech.
67. Halleran (1995) 168 suggests this.
68. This includes Theseus who is in exile, we are reminded by Aphrodite, because of his dispute with the sons of Pallas (a dispute over his legitimate birth) and

who declares at 1169–1170 that he must be the son of Poseidon (and so not the son of Aegeus?). Demophon and Akamas are also of questionable status, but they are not characters in the play.

69. Bakewell (1999a) 9–22.

70. We should not mistake Jason's assertion that he contracted the new marriage in order that his children by Medea be raised "in a manner worthy of my house" (παῖδας δὲ θρέψαιμι' ἀξίως δόμων ἐμῶν, 562). This cannot be his real motivation given that he has no issue with Kreon sending them into exile with Medea. It is merely a cover for his true motive, namely, that *he* live in a manner he feels is worthy of his birth. He also offers ample money to Medea to help care for the children in exile along with tokens to announce them as his children to others. Money was something strongly associated with metics and Jason's wealth, although mysteriously gotten given his exiled status, would mark him as typical of a metic in the Athenian imagination (as Bakewell (1999a) 10–11 argues for metics in general).

71. Jason seems to be highly self-absorbed. As he himself says, this is not the first time he has seen Medea's temper (οὐ νῦν κατεῖδον πρῶτον ἀλλὰ πολλάκις / τραχεῖαν ὀργὴν ὡς ἀμήχανον κακόν, 446–447). And yet he fails to account for it. He even suggests he is only thinking of Medea's and the children's interests and not his own (459–564).

72. Kreon seems at first to recognize it and orders Medea into immediate exile (282–291). But he too relents and lets her remain for one day more thinking she could do no harm in that time (348–356).

73. The dialogue between Medea and Aegeus points to the basic injustice of Jason's act and its self-centeredness. Aegeus calls his abandonment of Medea most shameless (αἰσχιστον, 695), calls Jason himself base for doing it (ἐστὶν κακός, 699), and understands precisely why Medea is so upset (συγγνωστὰ μὲν τᾶρ' ἦν σε λυπεῖσθαι, γύναι, 703).

74. Quite viciously, it seems, too, by cutting up his body parts and scattering them so that Aeetes would need to stop and pick up each piece.

75. The children must be at least five years of age, probably a little older. The chorus women refer, for example, to having "mixed the cup of friendship" with the house (οὐδὲ συνήδομαι, ὦ γύναι, ἄλγεσι δώματος, ἐπεὶ μοι φιλία κέκραται, 135–137). They are not indifferent to Medea's troubles.

76. Especially 522–533, although he goes further to emphasize that he more than repaid her by bringing her to dwell in Greece from barbarian lands (534–541).

77. Medea notes it is not the first time her reputation has harmed her (292–293).

78. Kreon's reasons for exiling Medea, not originally part of the marriage agreement with Jason, are the threats she has been heard uttering against his family (282–291). Jason specifically notes that she had been patient and quiet in Corinth up until this time (446–458).

79. We could consider as comparable Herakles at the end of Euripides' *Herakles* being invited by Theseus to come with him to Athens. Although Herakles is a destructive force, there is great benefit to associating with the someday god

and treating him as a friend.

80. There is no evidence in the play that Medea intends to marry Aegeus and have children with him. Nor does it matter whether the story of their marriage and begetting of Medus is in circulation by the 430s or not because there seems to be no attempt to reconcile the story of the play with the larger mythscape of Medea and Jason (Mastronarde (2002) 54–55). Hesiod *Theogony* 1001 gives Medus as a child of Medea by Jason. See Chapter 5, this volume, for the notion of Medea as midwife and herbalist.
81. Konstan (2007).
82. The destruction of Plataea in 427 BCE by a joint Spartan and Theban force; the three-year siege leading up to its destruction led to a number of Plataean refugees entering into Athens, some of whom took up an Athenian grant of citizenship. The date of the *Heraklidae* falls sometime in the period during the siege of Plataea and one wonders if the *Heraklidae* would have resonated for the Plataeans and Athenians alike in the audience.
83. The Furies are slightly different in that they have a place both outside the city and are granted a spot on the Akropolis, an act pointing to their naturalization. The figure of Oedipus in *Oedipus at Colonus* could be viewed similarly because he is kept at arms length outside the city, although his role is not related in anyway to marriage. I disagree with the position taken by Tzanetou and others that Oedipus is naturalized in the play.
84. The acceptance of suppliants into the city is never without risk, as Tzanetou (2012) demonstrates. The willingness of the supplicated to take on that risk for a just cause is part of the glory.
85. The daughter is unnamed in the text of the play although some manuscripts name her Macaria.
86. The contrast between the insistent propriety of the daughters of Herakles with the suggested moderation of the Danaids is rather striking. In *Heraklidae*, the mention of propriety reinforces it as an aspect of the daughter. In *Suppliants*, its mention highlights the sexuality and availability of the maidens instead.
87. See Bakewell (1999a). Tzanetou (2012) 87–91 sees a tension in this clearly patriotic play giving such positive and sustained praise to foreigners, but, as Bakewell (1999b) 60–63 remarks, tragedy, unlike funeral oratory, is a public venue for the entire city—metic, citizen, and visitor alike. As such it has unifying themes that incorporate metics into the fabric of the polis. Also, there may be a difference in the reception of political exiles who came to Athens during the Peloponnesian War from allied or friendly cities that experienced *stasis* than there might have been for those who came seeking work in the building programs or in the harbor. But those differences might fade as the war effort required metics to step up and perform military service in larger numbers, too. The tensions evident in Lysias' speeches and in the fourth century may, in fact, be a product specifically of the aftermath of the Thirty.
88. Bakewell (1999a) 15–17 especially discusses how Lysias uses the stereotype of the disloyal metic to paint Philon (a citizen) as a metaphorical metic, pointing specifically to his flight from the city to Oropos instead of fighting with

89. See Balot (2004) 406–423 on citizen courage.
90. The idea of the *kalos thanatos* (beautiful death) is central to the construction of citizen identity in the funeral orations. To attribute such a death to a woman and metic is highly unusual, but is, again, part of the unifying aspect of tragedy that funeral oratory, as a citizen-focused event, did not participate in. On the beautiful death as a trope of funeral oratory, see especially Loraux (1986) 98–118.
91. This is not an unusual equation; see Rehm (1994). See R. Osborne (1997) 22–26 and accompanying bibliography on this equation in imagery on white-ground lekythoi used in classical graves.
92. Most notably institutionalized in both the Eleusinian Mysteries and the Thesmophoria.
93. That is, the Spartans who were currently invading Attica. His burial will also be on the Akropolis, before the shrine of Pallas Athena (1030–1031).
94. And reminiscent of the Furies in *Eumenides*.
95. The association of foreign women with childbirth and medicine will be addressed in Chapter 5, this volume. Whereas there are hints of the association in both the Furies and Medea, it is not emphasized as an ideal role. It is, instead, perhaps, a reflection of an acceptable reality.
96. And if Jason were a decent husband (but that may be asking a lot).
97. This tomb will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5, this volume.
98. An alternate interpretation for the increase in tombs for women has been offered to me by Andrew Stewart in conversation. He suggests that this increase reflects the impact of the plague because tombs often commemorate untimely death and because women and children would have been primary victims of the plague. A great many tombs from between 430–400 BCE are for more than one person, a sign, perhaps, of the need to use what was available given the high number of deaths.
99. R. Osborne (1997) 7–8.
100. See Brenne (1994) for discussion of slanders on *ostraka*. R. Osborne (1997) 7–8 also points out that there was a long-standing tradition among the Athenian elite of calling on foreign relations and friendships as part of the political wrangling of the Peisistratid era down to the reforms of Kleisthenes.
101. R. Osborne (1997) 11–32.
102. Clairmont (1993) catalogues over 1,600 total classical grave *stelai*. See R. Osborne (1997) 12–18 for the ratio of women to men. The real increase in grave *stelai* of this type begins to appear in the 430s, the same period during which Meyer (1993) sees an increase in the use of demotics on tombs. We might consider this part of both the plague impact and the impact of the law's relaxation in the period.
103. R. Osborne (1997) 29 n.53.
104. Schaps (1979) 4–7.

3 Aspasia, Athenian Citizen Elites, and the Myth of the Courtesan

In the previous chapter, I suggested that after 451 BCE an ideological barrier developed, evident in Athenian tragedy, separating the world of the citizen from the world of the metic. This barrier was not necessarily physically visible, but psychological, and it was policed. Individuals who straddled, or attempted to cross, the line between the citizen and metic worlds seem to have come under increasing scrutiny, especially women, who by virtue of being women were more vulnerable to attacks on their descent and who, if not above reproach, left their children and spouses also vulnerable to attacks on their citizen status. These attacks typically took the form of accusations of sexual deviancy or of being a danger to the city in some other way, a pattern most clearly represented in the figure of Phaedra in Euripides' *Hippolytus*. The tragic discourse reflects what faced real metic women in Athens who crossed the citizen-metic divide. In this chapter, I explore the pivotal figure of Aspasia, perhaps the most famous metic woman from ancient Athens, whose relationship to a number of famous Athenian men positioned her at the center of public gossip and anxiety and made her a target for public abuse. As the wife of the general and politician Perikles and mother of his enfranchised son, Aspasia was accused on the comic stage (and perhaps elsewhere) of influencing his foreign policy decisions and was the Hera to his Zeus, the Helen to his Paris, the woman behind his most tyrannical urges. We must, then, examine Aspasia if we are to make any attempt at understanding the position of metic women in Athens as well as the Athenian mental world in which the ideology of the metic woman operated. But we cannot come to any real understanding of Aspasia as metic woman until we clear away the associations that have accumulated around her because of scholarly ideas about *hetairai*.¹

Redefining the *Hetaira*

There are two explicit definitions of the *hetaira* that I have been able to find in the scholarship, both of which are problematic and define

the term exclusively as a type of prostitute. First, Sian Lewis provides a traditional definition of the *hetaira*, a class of women, she says, who are “easily recognizable”: “a ‘companion’ was a free woman, educated, skilled in arts and music, who would provide conversation, company, and (sometimes) sex for a man, at a(n) (often considerable) price.”² This definition is highly problematic because it marks a woman by numerous behaviors that are often indiscernible in the ancient sources, but that assume those behaviors by suggesting that visual representation of such things as reading and playing certain instruments can be interpreted as marking a woman as a prostitute. Laura McClure adds to this definition ideas closely associated with representations of women called *hetairai* in Second Sophistic writers.³ A *hetaira*, she deduces, is foreign-born, wealthy, consorts with illustrious men, has a distinguished or famous name of her own that is used in public fora, is educated or intellectual, is associated with performance or modeling, and has a “semblance of respectability” making her difficult to distinguish from a *psallakê* or even a wife.⁴ I agree with McClure’s definition of a *hetaira* for the most part, but not in a way she would likely approve. For I do believe that there were a group of women in sixth- and fifth-century Athens who were called *hetairai*, who had foreign associations, were wealthy, educated, and distinguished or famous, and associated with modeling and performance at times, but they were not prostitutes or even courtesans. Nor, I will argue, was the term *hetaira* ever synonymous with a class of prostitute in the classical period except among a small class of individuals who considered any woman of a lower status available for sex and who used the term to denote women who were “the kind you don’t take home to mother.”

To begin redefining the *hetaira*, we should reconsider the connections we make between *hetairai*, symposia, prostitution, and metic women. Sian Lewis, like Leslie Kurke, suggests that *hetairai* are easily recognizable in vase painting at least because the only women pictured in sympotic images are supposedly prostitutes.⁵ Prior to Herodotus, however, there is no evidence of the word *hetaira* being used to denote anything other than young female friends gathered together with other female companions, not ‘companions.’⁶ In Sappho, the *hetairai* are Leto and Niobe (fr. 142) or Sappho’s own circle of female friends for whom she sings her song (poem 160). In Pindar *Pythian* 3, the *hetairai* are the female age-mates who would have sung the bridal song for Askleipios’ mother, Koronis. In *Pythian* 9, Pindar says of the Naiad Kreoisa, “She loved not the path walked to and fro

before the looms, nor the pleasures of dining with her *oikoriai/hetairai* (female house-mates).” *Pythian* 9 is the first text to connect the *hetairai* with the “pleasures of dining,” perhaps a reference to symposia. But, when we think of symposia, we assume elite citizen men (*hetairoi*) dining in luxury together (in their *hetairiai*), the only women present are supposedly metic or slave prostitutes and paid entertainers (sometimes also mistaken for prostitutes). And yet there are hints, like the Pindar and in comedy and in vase imagery, that among elite families and some non-Athenian Greeks, the women also had dinner companions and enjoyed “the pleasures of dining,” and not just with household servants, but with visiting women, like female relatives and friends, and occasionally even men.

The *pannychis*, featured in at least one comedy from the fifth century⁷ and two from middle comedy,⁸ was an all-female event that had nearly all the activities associated with it that we normally consider sympotic— drinking, toasting, perhaps *kottabos* and music and song.⁹ Further, there is evidence representing all women, not just prostitutes, as over-sexed and gluttonous.¹⁰ Such consistent representations could suggest that events like the *pannychis* served as the model for female-only sympotic imagery, while the appearance of women with men in other scenes (especially naked) might represent fantasies of women at play rather than actual prostitutes, possibly even elite women at play (Fig. 3.1).¹¹ Vases showing men and women dining together may also be reflections of practice among certain elements of the elite, especially those following Ionian practices.



One reason why scholars often dismiss the idea that these images may reflect fantasies or real scenes of non-prostitutes is that citizen women have traditionally been excluded as potential objects for seduction. As part of her interpretation that these sympotic vases show prostitutes, Kurke seeks to transport the language of Athenaeus' courtesans back into Archaic poetry and then forward into the interpretation of the vase images, but we should consider strongly an alternate conclusion to both of these scholarly leaps. First, we should consider that citizen women could be and were the objects of male seduction in elite discourse and that this is reflected in the Archaic sympotic poetry. Imagine that the woman addressed as a "Thracian filly" in Anakreon Fr. 417 PMG (discussed by Kurke) is not a prostitute, but an elite girl or young woman whom the poet wishes to seduce, a girl modeled upon someone who, like any number of citizen wives and daughters in the late sixth and early fifth centuries, was a metic or a *metroxenê* of Thracian descent.¹² There is nothing in the poem that requires or hints that she is a prostitute except that she is eroticized, something scholars have assumed that Athenian men could only do with prostitutes.¹³ In fact, the poem suggests strongly that the girl is rejecting any attempt to marry or seduce her—she is not ready to give up being a *parthenos*. Sharon James' (brief) examination of the Cologne fragment of Archilochus, in which a man attempts to seduce a young girl, suggests that far from being a prostitute of the type Kurke sees as the object of such poems, the girl is actually a free woman and citizen. The poem "proposes, very surprisingly, that premarital sexual activity might not destroy the reputation and life of a citizen girl."¹⁴ Thus, I suggest that in the sympotic poems we are seeing young women, elite young women, being treated the same as elite young men—they are *kalai* girls like the *kaloi* boys of other poems and pots and are being pursued and seduced accordingly.¹⁵

Similar dynamics may be invoked concerning some vase images of allfemale symposiasts. What we see there, I argue, are *hetairai* - girlfriends, female companions among other female companions similar to male companions, *hetairoi*, among their male companions often represented in both image and text, not prostitutes as they are frequently identified. Such an identification of the women would alleviate the tension Kurke finds so unsettling in the assimilation of male elite *hetairoi* with prostitutes, a tension she notes especially in

Munich 2421 (ca. 500 BCE).¹⁶ When the women are social equals to the men and not, as is always assumed in these images showing drinking, prostitutes, the images become more comfortably erotic and less distressing or topsy-turvy.¹⁷ The Munich vase in particular conflates the women and men most clearly by placing an older man admiring the *kalos* Euthymides on the hydria proper while two female symposiasts, naked from the waist up and playing *kottabos*, say “I cast for you, *kalos* Euthymides.” These women share the male gaze and desire for the *kalos* boy in this particular vase, I suggest, because they are intended to represent the same lifestyle, social status, and values.¹⁸ Similar might be two vases found in the Athenian Agora that include graffiti scratched by women (possibly) of men. The first (Agora 21 C10) says, “Lykomachos seems *kalos* to Ianthis.” The second, “Alkaios seems *kalos* to Melis.”¹⁹ While Cole asserts that these women must certainly be prostitutes because they would otherwise not know men outside of their immediate families,²⁰ as I have suggested above concerning sympotic poetry, it could equally be the case that these are elite women who are admirers of certain young men. The only prohibition on such an interpretation is scholarly convention. But, certainly, this seems to fall under the purview of elite discourse, which elite women may have accessed more easily than women of the lower classes.

There may be another reason to consider that the women are of the same class as the men: they often share the same idealized bodies, as in Basel KA415 (ca. 450 BCE). This red-figure cup shows men and women lying together on couches listening to music, drinking, and holding branches.²¹ The body-types of the men and women are identical, only a slightly more curved line for the breasts differentiates them. They gaze into each other’s eyes and there is no sexual denigration or one-sided objectification on display in the image.²² Instead, we see shared pleasure to coincide with the shared physical features and, I suggest, shared social status.²³ They are *hetairai* in the simple sense of the word, female friends or companions (not ‘companions’), represented within the framework of elite social life.

In order to contextualize these images and the type of *hetaira* I am associating with them within the framework of metic/immigrant women, we might consider in this context three non-Athenian sets of iconography because all of the women invoked in this chapter, and in the book in general, share one over-arching characteristic—they are partially or fully non-Athenian. Indeed, the foreign women who most frequently married into the Athenian elite were from regions like

Miletos, Eretria, and Thrace, all three of which were places associated in antiquity with less strict gender divisions and where the elite women were more generally integrated into social activities like dining and drinking. In most cases, the influence of the Near East is considered the source of these behaviors, specifically Lydia. To this group, we might also add the Etruscans and the Locrians of southern Italy, whose iconography of men and women dining together has often led scholars (and ancient Greeks as well) to accuse them of sexual deviancy and of prostituting their wives and daughters. Miletos, birthplace of Aspasia and of an increasingly large number of immigrants over the fourth century, was known in antiquity for its luxury-loving hedonism. As Creilaard remarks:

They typified the leisure class of the Archaic period and were intimately connected with a specific elitist notion of freedom. Living in luxury was a way of life, or rather, a style of private expenditure that found expression especially in gorgeous attire, perfumes and other forms of personal adornment, as well as copious food and drink.²⁴

Evidence that this lifestyle was not confined to one Greek polis but was widespread among the Ionians is found in the lyric poetry of the Archaic period (such as that of Sappho) and in artifacts like the Klazomenian sarcophagi from Akanthos in Chalkidike (ca. 540–500 BCE). The image on one side of the tomb shows banqueters, men and women together, sharing couches. Some of their heads are covered in extravagant head-wraps, *sakkoi*, considered Lydian in style.²⁵ Both Crielaard and Skinner remark that the presence of the women at the banquet (in addition to the head-wraps) suggests that this is an eastern-inspired scene, a sign of internationalism or cosmopolitanism instead of orientalism.²⁶ The presence of the women is especially troubling to Skinner, though, who, like Crielaard, falls back on a reference to Macedonian customs represented in Herodotus Book 5 as a means of explaining that the identity of the women was “ambiguous since, by conventional standards and with obvious exception of *hetairai* and slaves, women did not attend symposia.”²⁷ And yet, it is more likely that these Greeks simply did not follow the practices of their Athenian (or Macedonian) neighbors any more than the Etruscans seem to have done or, possibly, the Locrians.²⁸ In fact, Etruscan society as represented in their art suggests precisely the type of aristocratic culture of Athens in the late sixth and early fifth century that I am arguing for here, with evidence that it continued even well into the period of the Peloponnesian War.²⁹ Instead of

assuming the status of the women is ambiguous or that they are prostitutes, we should consider the very real possibility that not all Greeks, even some within Athens, viewed as necessary or desirable the strict gender divide we have projected onto them based on stories like that in Herodotus of the Macedonian court.

Many of the elite families of Athens throughout the sixth and fifth centuries married women from the Ionian cities and participated in the international culture of these cities and themselves owned property in regions where this lifestyle was more common, like in Chalkidike, Thrace, and in Milesian cities along the Black Sea. Many Athenians of all social classes had access to what were considered eastern goods and practices, especially styles of dress, hair styles, and adornments from the Persian Empire that were considered accessible marks of luxury; they even began making their own goods under the influence of eastern trends, like the *persikai*, a shoe made by Greek shoemakers with Persian styling.³⁰ Instead of assuming that all women who appear in sympotic and dining scenes are prostitutes, we should consider that the foreign wives and daughters of the elite Athenian men who made up a primary audience for these images (not to mention the south Italian audience) were part of the elite cosmopolitan 'jet set,' who brought those practices with them to Athens. Either that or we should consider that the practice of shared dining and drinking was more widespread than a handful of condemnations from the late fifth or fourth centuries suggest they were.³¹ As Blazeby shows, whether it was considered decent for men and women to drink and dine together in some texts does not mean that men and women did not dine and drink together nor does it mean the women who did so were prostitutes.³² The *nomoi* of these foreign women were foreign just as the *nomoi* of some Athenian elites were considered foreign and were condemned at times as 'un-democratic.' This may be one reason why some women were slandered in public by political enemies and perhaps those outside of their social sphere. It was among the elite that we see the most evidence in fifth-century material remains of the adoption and adaptation of Persian practices and lifestyle after all.³³ Even Ionian Greeks were at times considered less than entirely reputable as Greeks, and Ionia is where the largest number of metic women came from, especially those who married into and associated with the Athenian upper classes. If we reconsider the *hetaira* as originally a name used to refer to elite women, sometimes of foreign birth, who participated in sympotic and luxury culture, the appearance of these women in both sympotic and political discourse

makes more sense, as does the way we have come to identify *hetairai* as foreign women of renown, wealth, and access to the political elite. It is within this elite context, this different discourse of the *hetaira*, that we should place Aspasia and other metic women who consorted with and were part of the Athenian elite.

The Real Aspasia?

Aspasia herself was not referred to in sources from the classical period as a *hetaira* and Madeline Henry has put much effort into disproving the notion that Aspasia was either a prostitute or a madam. Nor was she the first to suggest it.³⁴ But such rebuttals of the status quo are still largely overlooked in textbooks, sourcebooks on women, and even among scholars who specialize in women in antiquity. A clear example comes from Joyce Salisbury's *Encyclopaedia of Women in the Ancient World*:

We know nothing of Aspasia's youth in Miletos; in fact, Aspasia probably was not even her given name, since it means "the desired one," so she likely took this name as a courtesan. She was either orphaned, sold into slavery, or born of a prostitute, but she seems to have been raised to be a courtesan—a highly trained professional prostitute. . . . Probably when she was in her late teens, she was moved to Athens, along with many merchants and others who wanted to take advantage of Athens' growing prosperity. There she established a house of prostitution.³⁵

This narrative of Aspasia's life is found reflected in a number of scholarly discussions on prostitutes³⁶ and, like many of those studies, notably demonstrates a misunderstanding of women's names in ancient Greece (many popular citizen names for women had meanings like 'Sweetness' or 'Beloved').³⁷ It is a fantastical narrative that ignores Aspasia's class and family ties to Athens. But these ties matter in understanding her life, just as they do for understanding any woman's life; not all metics were without citizen family or other citizen ties.

The great irony of the Citizenship Law has always been that its proposer, the politician and general Perikles, began a long-term relationship only a few years after the law was passed with a metic woman. He and Aspasia had a child together, known as Perikles Jr., and, after both of Perikles' citizen children died in the plague in 430/429 BCE, Perikles requested that his son by Aspasia be made a

citizen and be permitted to become his legal heir in direct violation of his own law.³⁸ Aspasia was the target of many public attacks over the decades she and Perikles were together and even after his death as their son began his own political career. Her associations with the family of Alkibiades also no doubt generated more attacks. Aspasia's life spanned almost entirely the period in Athens when the Citizenship Law was passed (451 BCE), modified (430/429 BCE) and then finally re-imposed (403 BCE), a period when the status of metics was marked by various sociopsychological changes. Far from being the courtesan (or concubine) scholars typically consider her, she was, I argue, sexualized and demonized because of her metic status and her marriage to Perikles, a confluence of the increasingly ethnocentric views of the Athenians with the higher valuation placed on citizen mothers in democratic ideology. The sexual invective directed against her was part of the normal elite politics of Athens and its virulence increased because of ethnic anxieties engendered primarily by Athens' imperialism. No longer able to be incorporated into the citizen body as mothers of citizens, these metic women were increasingly attacked within the context of Athenian racist views of non-Athenian descent as deviant, defective, and dangerous.

The anecdotes about Aspasia from the comic and Second Sophistic traditions are typically united into a narrative that strongly reflects the encyclopaedia entry cited above and followed by many scholars even in the face of contrary evidence. The story runs as follows: after living the early years of her life as a highly trained and educated, successful courtesan and madam, Aspasia eventually later took up a liaison with the general Perikles, becoming his concubine, and they had a child who was later made a citizen. After Perikles' death, she apparently continued running her brothel (not much else for a "relict concubine" to do, as Pomeroy states), and took up with another Athenian politician, Lysikles, to whom she taught rhetoric and with whom she supposedly had a son with the suspicious name Poristes. Her son, Perikles Jr., may have arranged the relationship in order to relieve himself of an embarrassing mother who might interfere with or cause issues for his political career. Aspasia then seems to have died at some point during the Peloponnesian War, although perhaps closer to 410 because she continues to be lampooned on the comic stage regularly in the mid-420s.³⁹ The only real evidence from antiquity that Aspasia was a *hetaira* of any sort is found in Athenaeus, who quotes Herakleides of Pontus' work *On Pleasure* (FR 59 Wehrli = Athen. *Deip.* 12.533c), saying that Perikles drove his wife from their

home and then devoted himself to a life of pleasure living with Aspasia, a *hetaira* from Megara. If the use of the term *hetaira* in Athenaeus is a direct quotation from Herakleides, a fourth-century philosopher, this would be the first and only classical source to call her such. The story itself, however, seems to derive from Antisthenes' dialogue *Aspasia*⁴⁰ with some confusion regarding her place of origin deriving, most likely, from a misinterpretation of Aristophanes' *Acharnians* 525–531.⁴¹ It is far more historically likely, though, that Aspasia was, if a *hetaira*, only one in the terms discussed above—as a member of the elite who was associated in the texts of Herakleides and Antisthenes with the pleasures of the table and luxury—not as some type of prostitute.

The narrative that scholars have put together from our sources is based on two primary principles. First, they take as a given that Aspasia was a metic prostitute (or concubine—although both terms are treated as synonyms by most scholars). Second, they assume that we can take sexual attacks by comic poets, orators, or philosophers on a metic woman as evidence for her actual status and employment. Epigraphical evidence, however, paints a different picture of Aspasia. If we place Aspasia within the context of elite politics and of elite openness to foreigners and foreign practices in the early to mid-fifth century, her life story becomes understandable as something quite different than the orphaned or enslaved girl groomed as a courtesan who eventually rises to the top of her profession and lands the most important man in Athens. For, while the elites and some other Athenians continued to be open to foreign influences, increasingly such openness was viewed as undemocratic and possibly seditious. Thus, Aspasia emerges as a pivotal person in understanding the changing dynamics of social and political expectations in Athens and as a window through which to view the closing of the Athenian mind to foreignness. What follows is a reconstruction of Aspasia's life followed by a discussion of the discrepancies between the traditional reconstruction and my own within the contexts of other women of the elite political class in fifth-century Athens and the ideology of the metic woman. This reconstruction is primarily based on a combination of the ancient anecdotes, Bicknell's reconstruction from tomb inscriptions and historical accounts, and Davies' discussions of the various elite families involved.⁴²

Reconstruction: When Aspasia arrived in Athens sometime around 450 BCE, she did not come as a poor immigrant looking for work in the bustling imperial city that was Athens at that time or as a trained

courtesan. Rather, she came to Athens from the politically unstable Miletos⁴³ as the sister-in-law of the fabulously wealthy and well-known Athenian Alkibiades the elder, just returned from his ostracism.⁴⁴ When Alkibiades left Athens in 460 BCE and arrived in Miletos, where he seems to have spent his exile, his marriage to a daughter of the wealthy Milesian Axiochus was nothing outside of the norm for an aristocratic Athenian man. His two children from this union, Axiochus and Aspasioi,⁴⁵ while *metroxenoi*, were still reckoned as Athenian citizens because they were born before 451 BCE.⁴⁶ When Alkibiades returned to Athens, however, with his Milesian wife and her younger sister Aspasia, the laws had changed thanks to Perikles.⁴⁷ What had been possible for Aspasia's sister, producing citizen children, was no longer a possibility for the young Aspasia. Thus, when Aspasia arrived in Athens,⁴⁸ she came allied by marriage to one of the most powerful families in the city, but would perhaps not be able to contract such a dynastic marriage for herself if only because her children could not be citizens. Still, she was not without citizen friends and family in the city and her immediate social circle was from the cream of Athenian society. The possibilities for finding a good marriage were not out of bounds for her. It is even possible that when Kleinias, the son of the elder Alkibiades from an earlier marriage, died at Koroneia in 447/446 BCE and Perikles became guardian of the younger Alkibiades (III), that Perikles also became the *kurios* of the still young Aspasia.⁴⁹ Around this time, Aspasia and Perikles began a long-term relationship that was recognized as a marriage that lasted until Pericles' death in 429 BCE. They had one child born sometime before 441 BCE who was enfranchised in 430 BCE. Their relationship, because of Perikles' prominence and because of the law he himself proposed (and which made his child by Aspasia initially a non-citizen), became the subject of much gossip on the comic stage for certain, and likely, in the agora and the assembly.

Upon Perikles' death in 429/8 BCE, it is unclear what happened to Aspasia and her son Perikles Jr., although it is possible that the latter became the ward of Alkibiades, now aged around twenty-three, or his own uncle Axiochus, Aspasia's nephew. Aspasia, Alkibiades' aunt now aged around forty, would have either become the dependent of Axiochus or of Alkibiades himself until her son came of age.⁵⁰ The tradition that Aspasia was remarried to Lysikles, by whom she supposedly had a child named Poristes, is neither secure nor necessary.⁵¹ Many of the comic slanders against Aspasia come from the years after Perikles' death and may be associated with the careers

of her nephew and son. Her relationship to Lysikles could have been one of teacher and student because many of the philosophical texts (Plato, Xenophon, and Aeschines) treat Aspasia as something akin to a Sophist. It is quite possible that Aspasia and Lysikles were not married at all and never had a child, but by learning rhetoric from her, he was able to bamboozle others as the comic figure Streptseides attempts to do in Aristophanes' *Clouds*, thus bearing the metaphorical child, Poristes, a polite way of calling someone a thief.⁵² Aspasia also could have offered basic education to young women, thus the reference to her 'girls' in Aristophanes' *Acharnians*, the *pornê* whose kidnapping he jokes led to the Megarian decree.⁵³ We might view both as comic slanders against Aspasia as Sophist, dressed erotically in the guise of madam or prostitute.

This reconstruction of Aspasia's journey to Athens and her life is based primarily on the epigraphical and historical evidence linking her Milesian family to the Athenian family of Alcibiades (II). Whether it is completely accurate or not does not matter, although I think it a more accurate picture of Aspasia's life than what is traditionally posited. What matters most, however, is its plausibility and what that means for understanding the possibilities for metic women found frequenting citizen social circles in midfifth century BCE in Athens and the impact laws like the Citizenship Law might have had on them. Aspasia has long been reckoned among scholars, especially among scholars studying women's history, as a courtesan and madam mostly because she was associated socially with Athenian citizen men and scholars have long rejected any notion that a respectable citizen woman could socialize with men in this way. Aspasia was also considered by her contemporaries as educated and intellectual. The combination of her foreign birth, education, and eroticization has led to the inevitable conclusion that she must have been a courtesan because within the dynamics that have become established in the study of Athenian women, the only possible way to understand the famous foreign women of wealth we encounter in the historical record is as such. But it is unclear if such prostitutes really did exist in Aspasia's lifetime. And the history reconstructed for Aspasia by Bicknell suggests a very different path for metic women of wealth in Athens, especially for those with ties to citizens. While the Citizenship Law did eliminate temporarily and technically the possibility that a metic woman's child could be a citizen, it did not eliminate relationships for those with connections to the Athenian elites nor did it reduce these women to indigence with no options but to prostitute

themselves (or others) to survive. What we see at work both in the invectives against Aspasia and in the scholarly tradition is the ideology of the metic woman, especially reflected in the representation of Phaedra. Aspasia, living in Athens on the cusp of a change in Athenian self-definition, bears the scars of the ideological warfare waged after 451 BCE on metic women under the guise of protecting the citizen body.

In the above reconstruction also, Aspasia is positioned within the same social and political dynamics as other elite Athenian women of the early fifth century such as the sister of Kimon Elpinikê, Aspasia's near contemporary, and Koisyra, mother of Megakles and grandmother of Perikles, both *metroxenai*. In the final section of this chapter, I want to consider Aspasia's life within the scope of other elite women who, although part of the citizen body, still experienced prejudices similar to those Aspasia was exposed to because of their generally public lifestyles and associations with foreign influence. These were also the type of women I suggest who were the origin of the myth of the *hetaira*.

Dangerous Influences?: the Real *Hetairai* of Athens

Elpinikê and Koisyra were prominent citizen women who were known in their own lifetimes and after for luxury and 'bad girl' behavior. Elpinikê was the foreign-born daughter of Miltiades, sister of Kimon and wife of Kallias (II). Elpinikê, like Aspasia, has a very visible tradition from antiquity in both the literary sources and in the archaeological record. In fact, Aspasia and Elpinikê's names appear in many of the same contexts, although we know more about Elpinikê because her name seems to have been even more public and bandied about more frequently than Aspasia's. Unlike Aspasia, however, Elpinikê has no entry in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, there are few references to her in the current scholarship on women in antiquity,⁵⁴ and no explorations of her life such as Henry gave to Aspasia exist. And yet, comparison between her tradition and that of Aspasia is very illuminating.

What do we know of Elpinikê? She had a Thracian mother, Hegesipyle, the daughter of King Oloros of Thrace.⁵⁵ She was said to

have had incestuous relations with her brother (Eupolis *Poleis* Fr 221; [Andok] 4.33; Plu. *Kim.* 4.8–9; Ath. *Deip.* 13.589e8-f2 summarizing Antisthenes),⁵⁶ to have offered herself to Perikles to effect her brother's return from exile (Ath. *Deip.* 13.589e8-f2; Plu. *Per.* 10.5–6 and *Kim.* 14.5, attributed originally to Steisimbrotos *FrGH* 107 F 5), to have questioned publically Perikles' leadership at a funeral oration (Plu. *Per.* 28.7),⁵⁷ and to have modeled for and had an affair with the painter Polygnotos (Plu. *Kim.* 10.5–6).⁵⁸ And she supposedly did all this while married to Kallias (II).⁵⁹ All of these references to her are, of course, late, and likely after her death, but we should not dismiss the notion that she was named and gossiped about in her own lifetime. She appears on an *ostrakon* (Fig. 3.2) from ca. 480 BCE that undisputedly positions her as a publicly well-known figure and, presumably, a woman of ill-repute. As Stefan Brenne argues, *ostraka* did not simply function to list names, but also served to condemn, mock, or defame the individuals who appeared on them.⁶⁰ A number of *ostraka*, such as the Elpinikê *ostrakon*, share characteristics with personal attacks and invective from the comic stage. This should mark her as not respectable, a label Sommerstein grants her based on her "promiscuous adultery."⁶¹ And yet, in the only extant oration in which she appears, she is not named, but referred to only as Kimon's sister, a sign according to the preferences discerned by Schaps that she was considered respectable.⁶² Still, according to our sources, Elpinikê was not "well-behaved" (εὐτακτόν; Plu. *Cim.* 10.5) and, as these anecdotes, many highly eroticized, show, she was a subject of frequent public gossip because she acted more like what we consider a *hetaira* than a citizen wife.⁶³ The story of her life constructed through these anecdotes could serve as a paradigm for McClure's definition of a *hetaira* were it not for the fact that she was a citizen wife. There is also much here that parallels the life of Aspasia.

Elpinikê was not alone in her behavior or in her position as a controversial elite citizen woman. Koisyra was an older contemporary of Elpinikê and even more renowned for her extravagant behavior. Until the 1960s at least, Koisyra was considered a comic fantasy, a made-up woman to represent the luxury and arrogance of elite women on the comic stage, but then her name showed up on a handful of *ostraka*. As with Elpinikê, we should consider the appearance of Koisyra on these *ostraka* as a mark of her public notoriety. In at least two of the *ostraka*, she is named along with her son Megakles and husband Hippokrates (Fig. 3.3).⁶⁴ Following Lavelle's conjectures, Koisyra was likely the daughter of Peisistratos and an Eretrian

noblewoman also named Koisyra,⁶⁵ and (just to fill out the family tree) her daughter was probably Agariste, the mother of Perikles.⁶⁶ So synonymous did Koisyra become with the idea of luxury and high living that decades after her death Aristophanes uses a verbalized version of her name, and her name itself in *Clouds* (41–52; 799–800) to characterize Strepsiades’ wife and son as extreme lovers of luxury—at 48, Aristophanes coins the verb ἐγκεκ οἰσυρωμένην, “koisyrafied,” to describe his son. As Virginia Hunter reminds us, one of the best and easiest ways to attack a man was through his mother,⁶⁷ whose citizen status was a lot easier to question than a father’s would be. The *scholia* on both Aristophanes’ *Clouds* and *Acharnians* call Koisyra and her son Megakles⁶⁸ either slaves or runaway slaves—something readers of oratory might recognize as a standard line of attack against opponents, used to help prove someone was not a citizen.⁶⁹ They clearly were not slaves; Koisyra was a member of two of the most elite citizen families in Athens. But she had a public reputation, a reputation that was not unlike that of Elpinikê (although less eroticized as far as we know) and perhaps the product not only of her luxurious way of life, but also her status as the daughter of a tyrant and wife of an Alkmaeonid. Aristophanes attests to her proverbial status long after her death. If West’s alteration of the name Kyke to Koisyra in Anakreon Fr. 388 *PMG* is accurate, we even see her proverbial as such in her own lifetime.⁷⁰



Figure 3.2 Ostrakon with Elpinikê, sister of Kimon. ca. 480 BCE. “Kimon, son of Miltiades, taking Elpinikê, go.” Kerameikos Museum O 6874.

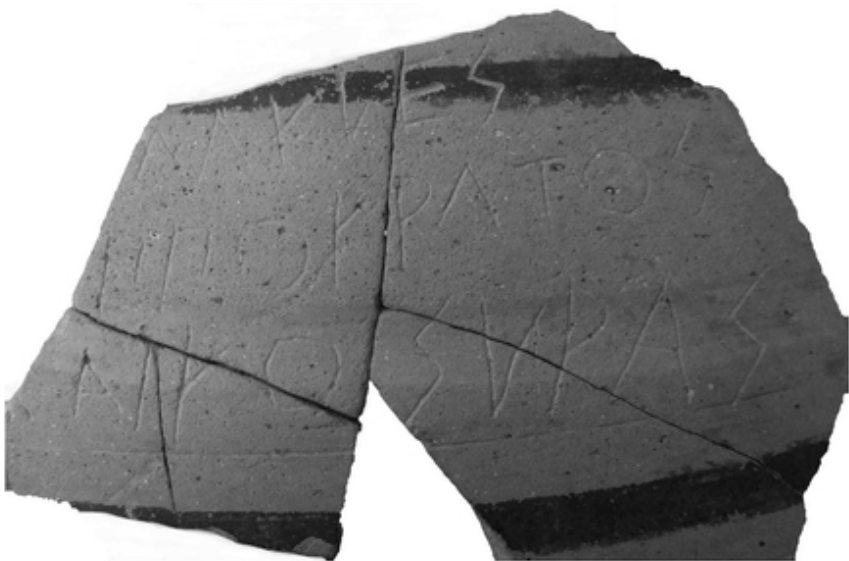


Figure 3.3 Ostrakon with Koisyra, mother of Megakles. ca. 490 BCE. “[Mega]kles [son of Hi]ppokrates [a]nd Koisyra.” Kerameikos Museum O 2359.1.

The existence of women like Elpinikê and Koisyra in Athens (as well as the material evidence for eastern-influenced luxury specifically for women) suggests that there was a culture in the city from the late sixth century to the mid-fifth century of elite women living a lifestyle not unlike their male counterparts—indulging in fine food and wine, parading about wearing gold and fine fabrics and carrying parasols. Numerous vase images from the late sixth and early fifth century BCE could suggest the same if we did not predetermine their meaning by assuming that all women pictured in sympotic vases are prostitutes. The same might also be said of the objects of seduction in the sympotic poetry of Anakreon. Women like Elpinikê and Koisyra had public notoriety and were clearly considered scandalous by some Athenians. They were members of the elite and as such they were fair targets for public naming and shaming as the female relatives of prominent politicians, and perhaps more so because they were themselves *metroxenai*. Neither Elpinikê nor Koisyra were exemplars of public morality, but we should consider the dynamics of gossip and envy in their representations. Our anecdotes coupled with the *ostraka* give us just a hint of the type of gossip that must have circulated about them.⁷¹ If we had extant orations from the first half of the fifth century, we would likely find examples of elite women named in the courtroom invectives of the day. This was part of politics as usual in Athens. We may even see hints of these women, women especially like Koisyra, in the representation of the Danaids, foreign women with connections to foreign tyrants who married their way into the citizen body, who brought their foreign mores to the city, and whose sexuality and brazen behavior combined to mark them as dangerous.

Some might argue (and indeed they have) that the Periklean period saw women become more repressed while women prior to the mid-fifth century had more freedoms. Gomme says that these scholars “suffer from the burden of the Funeral Oration.”⁷² Although it is possible to see the freedoms Elpinikê seems to have enjoyed as something of a ‘Roaring ’20s’ lifestyle opposite the Periklean ‘1950s Housewife’ model, the evidence for such a shift simply does not exist, but instead is a model based on ideals suggested by limited representations and scholarly anachronisms, not on actual practices or on the larger array of representations. It leads to analyses that do not incorporate the real activities of real women into the discussion because they do not conform to the model. Or it leads scholars to interpret visual and literary evidence alike to fit preconceived conclusions.⁷³ Most of the women we know of from classical Athens

are like Elpinikê and Koisyra and Aspasia. Aspasia, for better or worse, has been incorporated into the model as an *hetaira*. Elpinikê and Koisyra, surprisingly, have been left out of the discussion entirely.

If we look at each of these women—Aspasia, Elpinikê, and Koisyra—side by side, we see almost a narrative arc to the development of the prejudices Aspasia was subjected to even if we cannot explicitly pinpoint why such prejudices developed. We can start chronologically with the earliest of these women, Koisyra. Koisyra was the child of an Eretrian mother, also named Koisyra, whose marriage to the Athenian Peisistratos was part of an arrangement by which Koisyra's father helped to fund Peisistratos' tyranny in Athens.⁷⁴ The younger Koisyra married Hippokrates and their son, Megakles, was ostracized in 487 BCE as part of a wave of ostracisms of family members of Hippias, the son of Peisistratos and half-brother of Koisyra who had been driven out of Athens in 510 BCE and whom the Persians intended to reinstate as tyrant if they won at the battle of Marathon.⁷⁵ Marathon itself was viewed as the reaffirmation of democracy over tyranny. Thus, Koisyra was linked in the Athenian imagination not only to luxury, but also to external (and internal) threats to the democracy.

What about Elpinikê? Unlike Koisyra, her family was associated with the victory at Marathon because her father, Miltiades, was not only a general in the battle, but the impetus behind the decision to fight according to ancient sources. Within a few years of the battle, however, Miltiades was himself accused of Medizing. He was fined and imprisoned for debt and died.⁷⁶ His son Kimon managed to pay off the debt with money from their foreign estates in the Black Sea region—estates acquired in part through Miltiades' marriage to a Thracian princess. Kimon himself became very prominent in the 470s and 460s, leading to his own ostracism, his reputation marred by his pro-Spartan leanings in a period when Athens and Sparta were becoming increasingly hostile to one another even though he was known as a very staunch foe of the Persians. Again, we can see how the slanders against Elpinikê were both part of attacks on Kimon (she was accused of incest with him) and an aspect of her family's ties to foreign powers (her father's Medism especially). In fact, some women, like Elpinikê, may have had direct access to this Persian wealth, a fact that led to further suspicion of her and her family's loyalty to Athens' democracy.⁷⁷

Finally, what of Aspasia? Aspasia's ties to the Alkibiades family and to Perikles connect her with one of the most controversial families in classical Athens, the Alkmaeonids, who were themselves accused of

collaborating with the Persians in the aftermath of Marathon and who were often accused of seeking tyranny in Athens.⁷⁸ Aspasia was likely married to Perikles when he was at his peak of power and the young Alkibiades, later famous not only for his sexual escapades, but for his treachery in helping the Spartans after the Sicilian expedition and for his connections to the Persians, lived in the same home with Aspasia and Perikles when he became Perikles' ward. Aspasia's nephew, Axiochus, was Alkibiades' uncle and known as a very bad influence on him—he was his partner in drinking and philandering.⁷⁹ Interestingly, we can actually date many of the slanders against Aspasia in comedy to the two periods of ascendancy—in the 440s for Perikles and in the 420s for Alkibiades. The 420s was also the period when Perikles Jr. was coming of age and began his own political career. With family like this, it should come as no surprise that she was attacked for her sexual status. Such attacks are entirely consistent with the attacks on almost all of her male relatives (except Perikles Jr. as far as we know).

Furthermore, the attacks on Aspasia, while similar to those on Elpinikê and Koisyra, had a very clear relationship to her being a metic. In at least two references to Aspasia, she is accused of having encouraged Perikles to start wars, one because of her “girls,” but the other because of her ties to Miletos. Aristophanes accuses Perikles of passing the Megarian decree (which was one factor in the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War) because the Megarians kidnapped two of her “whores,” a jab clearly reminiscent of Herodotus' woman-snatching explanation for the animosity between Greeks and Asians.⁸⁰ Later, Duris of Samos, a source generally hostile to Perikles and the Athenian empire, accused Aspasia of having influenced Perikles in going to war with the Samians in 440 BCE. The Milesians were generally hostile to the Samians because they competed with them for trade so that Duris' criticism may be anti-Milesian as much as anti-Periklean. The idea that a foreign woman was influencing the policy decisions of the city's most prominent general seems to beg for criticism. That she is also seemingly referred to as Helen to Perikles' Paris in Kratinus' *Dionysalexandros* (P. Oxy. 663) suggests that she was using her sexual allure to bring war to Athens. While I have noted the similarities of Aspasia's situation to that of Phaedra in tragedy, we might also recognize that all three of these women—Aspasia, Elpinikê, and Koisyra—are reminiscent in their foreign connections and allure to the Danaids. None of it makes her a prostitute any more than the philosophical tradition that she was educated and an intellectual does. In fact, the philosophical tradition that posits her as a Sophist is,

perhaps, more accurate than the comic tradition and another reason why she was lampooned. It is not for nothing, I think, that she was connected to the erotic pedagogue Socrates in numerous texts.⁸¹

The point, ultimately, is that there is nothing unusual in the slanders Aspasia endured on the comic stage if we look at them within the context of the infighting among elite political families like that of Elpinikê and Koisyra (and alongside, perhaps, the comic critique of Socrates). Naively credulous readings of the comic poets aside, Aspasia's status as a metic and educated woman should not make her a prostitute, but it is not accidental that our sources attempt to lead us in that direction. The ideological shift in the years following the Citizenship Law that manifested in representations such as those on the tragic stage discussed in the previous chapter attached behaviors that were considered sexually transgressive and a threat to the democracy onto metic women who strayed into the citizen arena instead of staying within the evolving confines of metic status. If Aspasia had married a metic man, her image would have probably been like that of many citizen women of whom we know nothing but their name and image on a tomb. And it may very well still have been the case that a scene of domestic harmony marked her tomb. She may even have had an appropriately modest, matronly dedication made on the Acropolis in her honor, as some scholars have suggested based on an extant bust purported to be of Aspasia.⁸²

In the figure of Aspasia, then, we see an early prominent example of the type of sexual denigration that will occur with frequency in the fourth-century orators' slander of metic women who for one reason or another have relationships with citizen men. But the slanders against Aspasia are part of a long-standing tradition in Athens of targeting the female relatives of one's opponents and should not be believed as an accurate reflection of her status and profession. In the early years of the democracy, women who were associated with foreign powers and tyranny tended to be targeted—both Koisyra and Elpinikê fall into this category.⁸³ Their citizen status does not come under question in no small part because at this time it did not matter as much and because their fathers were famous men. But after 451 BCE, the citizen status of one's mother or wife, not just her behavior, becomes of the utmost importance for a man's status and because women were not registered in demes as men were, the lines between citizen and metic could not be easily discerned, especially among women—and this is the case more so if we recognize that in the fifth century what we call “deme records” were likely not systematic, consistent, or extensive for

men either, if they existed at all. Even the children of those citizens born between the years 430–403 BCE when the law was relaxed could find themselves under attack as Demosthenes was by Aeschines a full generation later because of his mother's birth. Women thus needed to be above reproach and certain behaviors that might bring them into disrepute came to be associated with foreign women, metics, women who were not subject to the same scrutiny (unless they tried to pretend they were a citizen), behaviors like attending symposia, associating publicly with prominent citizens and indulging in luxury—things that were also marked as undemocratic and un-Athenian.

When a prominent citizen like Perikles, then, married a metic woman, this was sure to make her a target, because her foreign associations could bring into question his patriotism, devotion to the democracy, and integrity. One wonders, however, if Aspasia would have been such an enduring target long after Perikles' death had their son not been made a citizen and gone into public life and had her nephews Axiochus and Alkibiades not been so prominent and notorious. I think it unlikely. But the attacks on her sexual status, attacks that referred to her as a madam and that have led scholars to consider her a prostitute (even if a pricey one), were only relevant so long as she had some influence or impact in Athenian public life.

Conclusion

This leads us to a final point. When we address women like Aspasia, we need to avoid defaulting to '*hetaira* -as-prostitute' to explain who they were and how they lived their lives. For one, this default does not take into account that the majority of our sources for these women are highly subjective and not trustworthy. Second, it assumes that we know exactly what a *hetaira* was and that it had a single, stable meaning over hundreds of years. The translations we tend to use—courtesan, prostitute, mistress—are highly skewed interpretations that do not match many of our sources or biases them unnecessarily. Third, by taking this as the baseline assumption, it cuts off the possibilities for how we understand metic women in Athens by shutting down interpretive paths for the evidence. This is partially a product of the heavy reliance on literature without much recourse to epigraphical and material evidence or the reliance on post-classical material to

explain that period. It is also the result of predetermining the material remains to fit the literary narrative, even late, Second Sophistic literary narratives.⁸⁴ This has been the case especially with vase images.

Finally, and perhaps most important for scholarly inquiry, when we default to saying that Aspasia and women like her were courtesans, we take these women out of context and create a new context for them that more resembles a nineteenth-century novel than what our evidence allows. It also makes it easy to take the fourth-century orators at face value because it sets a precedent in the fifth and sixth centuries that immigrant women who came to Athens, especially those who ended up living independently, had no choice but to be prostitutes of one kind or another. Surely there were prostitutes in the fourth century called *hetairai* and the term may have been used to describe a type of prostitution in the late fifth century, but instead of regarding those texts as windows into Athenian law and social practice, we must examine them as evidence for a process that turns women who do not conform to certain ideological standards into outcasts and threats to social order while remembering that ideology is not reality, but a veneer that must be stripped away in order to see the original surface below. Once we recognize the one-sided, biased, and ideologically driven content as such, we can better understand how these sources could function in Athens as plausible arguments concerning a woman's status while simultaneously recognizing ourselves that the narratives are exaggerations or even false.

The life Aspasia led in the fifth century during a period of great transition in Athenian social practices is unique in our extant sources. She married a citizen at the exact moment when the laws were changed to discourage it. Her son, not a citizen at birth, became a citizen due to the extraordinary circumstances of the Peloponnesian War. She lived life in public at a time when women were increasingly encouraged to stay out of the public eye. And it was her citizen spouse who has historically been credited with promoting the very policies and gender standards that made her dangerous and even outcast in Athenian society while living with her, apparently quite happily. The public shaming she seems to have endured, however, should have been a lesson to her and other metic women like her to stay away from citizens.

Aspasia, although sexualized in comedy, is never referred to in our ancient sources as a *hetaira* and her identification as such is linked primarily to Second Sophistic literature and scholarly imagination.

The term may, however, have been used of her in her own lifetime because of her political and social connections, although it is unclear that calling a woman a *hetaira* was the equivalent of calling her a prostitute, whereas perhaps it was similar to calling her a “whore.” The term can mean something as simple as ‘girlfriend,’ both as used by women to refer to their female companions and by men to refer to a woman they have a relationship with that is not marriage. It can be erotic or not. The behavior we as scholars attribute to *hetairai* can be found among citizen wives who surely were not prostitutes and were likely not being called such. Further, I suggest that the word *hetaira* in its usage as courtesan and prostitute likely only acquired that meaning over the course of the fifth century. This particular usage derived from one specific aspect of the term associated with wealthy aristocratic women whose lifestyle included symposia and public extravagance. In the wake of the Citizenship Law, when citizen women’s sexual behavior had become more important to the citizen body in general, the term *hetaira* as it was associated with these elite female party girls was transformed, perhaps, into a term of denigration and used of women who stood outside of the newly idealized citizen family or whose behavior challenged or was viewed as disruptive to the family. They were women without an *oikos*. Later, in the fourth century especially, it seems to have been used for women who were considered unmarriageable for one reason or another. Many of these women were metics, although not all were. Rather, *hetaira* became a fitting term in these contexts because it captured the ambiguous status of metic women whose ability to marry and reproduce within the citizen body had become restricted or discouraged. And perhaps women like Aspasia did serve as models or examples as the term transitioned because she was part of both the elite world of the Athenian aristocracy and a metic. Calling a woman a ‘companion’ served to show the defective and limited nature of her relationship, even if it was a legal marriage, to her citizen partner.⁸⁵ Thus, as we shall see in the next chapter, in the latter part of the fifth and into the fourth centuries, *hetaira* comes to be applied to a range of women, mostly metic, but occasionally citizen, who were widows without male relatives, women unable to marry either because they lacked a dowry and family, or who lived in the period when marriage as such was prohibited between metic women and Athenian men, or they were women who lived for whatever reason independently of a male *kurios* (metic or citizen). These various women may all have counted as ‘whores’ in a certain ideological matrix, but that did not make them

actual prostitutes, women who earned a wage by selling sex. Metic women like Aspasia were part of public consciousness, for better or worse, and were not cloistered and hidden away. Instead, like many elite citizen women, they performed their lives as much in the public eye as their politician brothers, fathers, and spouses. Some did so as priestesses, others simply as part of their daily lives.⁸⁶ Whether this was deemed respectable or appropriate by the standards of some members of Athenian society does not negate its reality. The language of respectability in scholarship and the focus on ideal types has long limited our understanding of metic women. They may have been sexualized by comic poets or their male relatives' political enemies, but, as evidenced even in our own contemporary political discourse, calling a woman a 'slut' does not mean she was a prostitute.⁸⁷ The public nature of their lives or the lack of legal repercussion for mistreating them were more to blame for the disrespect shown them than any work they may have needed to do to survive.

Notes

1. Madeline Henry's attempt to move Aspasia outside of the discourse of prostitution has, sadly, not gained traction among many scholars in part because her final assessment of Aspasia was that she was not a courtesan, but a *pallakê* and the *pallakê* has itself been subsumed under the rhetoric of prostitution as either a form of concubinage or as sexual servitude. In her 1996 review of Henry's book, Pomeroy rejects the arguments that Aspasia was not a prostitute and madam. Sue Blundell (1995) treats Aspasia in the section on "Prostitutes," not the section on "Resident Aliens." Even in 2005, in sourcebooks such as Lefkowitz and Fant's updated *Women's Life in Greece and Rome*, Aspasia is still the courtesan.
2. S. Lewis (2002) 101. She continues, "The existence of educated and interesting female prostitutes is accounted for by the lack of education offered to Athenian citizen women." This definition seems to assume that the large number of images representing women reading are all images of *hetairai*. On images of women reading, see S. Lewis (2002) 157–159, Cole (1981), and Glazebrook (2005b).
3. McClure (2003) 11–18. However, she is a bit disingenuous in the chart she provides of usages of terms for prostitutes (10) in that she includes the uses of the term *hetaira* by Sappho and Pindar in the sixth and fifth century that cannot be associated with the euphemistic use of the word. She also treats *pallakê*, *aulêtris*, and *hê anthropos* as synonyms for prostitute. They are not. See Starr (1978) and Goldman (forthcoming) on the *aulêtris*. See Sosin (1997) for discussion of *hê anthropos*, although I disagree with some of his conclusions.
4. McClure excludes citizen women, leaving out a number of women referred to

in texts as *astai hetairai*, like Antiphanes Fr. 210 or the mother of Philê as she is represented in Isaeus 3.

5. Keuls (1985) is still the most frequently cited work to argue that naked, eroticized women in archaic and classical images (at symposia or otherwise) are prostitutes whom she and others call *hetairai*.
6. In addition to those uses cited here is a conjectured use at Bacchylides *Epinician* 13.57.
7. Pherecrates wrote a play possibly titled *Pannychis*.
8. Alexis Fr. 179 (Ath. *Deip.* 4.170b). Alternate titles are *Pannychis* or *Weavers* (*Eriithoi*). Eubulus also wrote a *Pannychis*.
9. See Burton (1998) on female commensality. She discusses the *pannychis* and other occasions for female commensality in detail. In particular, she discusses private *pannychides* held on festival occasions as opposed to those hosted by the state, such as at the Panathenaia. Corner (2012) disputes her conclusions, but his arguments are based significantly on *a priori* assumptions of the type she and other scholars like Blazenby (2011) and Topper (2009 and 2012) dispute. Corner focuses exclusively on the all-male symposium and not commensality in general nor does he have a space for something called a symposium that is not the all-male elite version.
10. Examples from comedy include episodes from Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, *Thesmophoriaizusai*, and *Ekklesiazusai*. Stroup (2004) notes the striking similarities between over-sexed wives in comedy and women scholars refer to as *hetairai*. Vases that present women as excessive drunks include Munich 2676 (Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, 116, H616) ca. 475 BCE, where a woman drinking from an overly large cup occupies the tondo. Perhaps the most famous, however, is Malibu 6. AE.265 (J. P. Getty Museum) ca. 460–470 BCE, which shows a woman with an enormous cup stealing wine from the house storage closet. Drunken women appear in numerous comedy fragments, such as Kratinus Fr. 299 where a woman who has drunk nearly two gallons of wine is attempting to play *kottabos*.
11. Glazebrook (2012) suggests that the women in these all-female sympotic scenes are Spartan and, yes, prostitutes. The fantasy, though, conforms to the larger trope in Athens of representing women in general as excessive and desirous, Spartan women especially. Neils (2012) also discusses the idea that numerous eroticized and/or athletic images of women on vase paintings from the fifth century might be Spartan women, whom the Athenians generally thought of as “healthy, strong, athletic, and beautiful” (153). Kreilinger (2006) argues strongly that nudity on a vase should not be interpreted as a sign of prostitution.
12. Examples of such women include Elpinikê, sister of Kimon and wife of Kallias, and her mother Hegesipylê. Kurke (1997) 113–114 bases her assessment that the woman is a prostitute on the first-century CE commentator Herakleitos' statement that the girl's attitude is “hetairic.” Further proofs are that the girl is Thracian and that she is compared to a horse playing in the meadows, which Gentili (cited by Kurke, 114 n.20) claims “suggests a woman who is sexually free and promiscuous.” Kurke herself acknowledges in the note that

the language of the poem is applicable to a *parthenos*.

13. Something has happened in classical scholarship that has resulted in us positing that Athenian men, singularly in history, only eroticized prostitutes whereas all other women were somehow immune from such sexual objectification. The unsettling result is that we posit that any woman eroticized is a prostitute.
14. James (2012) 83. I think by “citizen,” James must mean marriageable. Citizenship in the various poleis had different meanings, so at most we can say that in the Archilochus poem, the girl is free and the relationship is one concerning marriage and childbearing and so legitimacy, thus making her status as a prostitute questionable.
15. On the extensive use of *kalos* in sympotic contexts, see Dover (1978) 111–124 and Davidson (2009) 352–356.
16. Kurke (1997) 135–136 on ARV² 23.7, *Para* 323, *Addenda*² 155; pictured in Reinsberg (1989) fig. 61.
17. Blazenby (2011) questions the conflation of women with wine and prostitutes. Pointedly, she remarks that metic women and men would likely not share “the moralistic Greek notion that ‘decent’ women should not drink in the company of men” (98). She says “Greek” and may be thinking that these metics are Near Eastern, but the separation between Ionian from non-Greek Near Eastern norms is often very difficult to make, the similarity between Lydian and Ionian clothing and habits being especially close.
18. We might consider similarly New York Metropolitan Museum, Rogers Fund 1907 (07.286.47), ca. 500 BCE. The image shows two women fully dressed in chitons, mantels, and turbans seated on swan-backed chairs on either side of a man lying on a couch. A lyre player sits beside him and plays his instrument while another man serves wine. The male symposiast fondles the genitals of a naked boy who approaches him from the front. S. Lewis (2002) 112 suggests the women represent the need for female companionship at a symposium. This could also just be a scene that shows members of the household at table. The women in chairs are holding something in their hands, perhaps food? But the boy is the object of desire in the image. The women simply watch the scene. See Toscano (2013) on the role of the female gaze in vase images and Paleothodoros (2012) on contexts in which the erotic imagery on vases was shared by female audiences.
19. Λυκόμαχ[ος καλός] [δ]οκεῖ Ἴανθ[ιδ—] (C10); Ἀλ{λ}καῖος { Ἀλκαῖος} καλός τὸ δοκεῖ Μέλιτι (C19). Pictured in Lang (1976) Pl. 3, Pl. 4. C19 has an additional inscription noting that Πυθόδορος καλός[ς].
20. Cole (1981) 131.
21. Pictured in S. Lewis (2002) 114, Fig. 3.17. Reinsberg (1989) dates the image to 415 BCE. All other sources date it to between 475–450 BCE.
22. Toscano (2013) emphasizes the idea of shared heterosexual pleasure as opposed to sexual objectification as a possible interpretation for many such images.
23. S. Lewis (2002) 113 still refers to the women in this image as prostitutes but

notes that they are pictured as equals who participate in the entertainments as active subjects, not simply as desired objects.

24. Crielaard (2009) 60.
25. See Crieaard (2009) 62 for image. The idea that Lydian dress denotes foreignness or that a woman adorned in Lydian or Persian accessories is a prostitute runs contrary to other material evidence that such eastern adornment was not restricted to either non-citizens or to one class or type of woman. The *sakkos*, for example, is worn by citizen and non-citizen women alike on grave *stele*. As Miller (1997) 153 remarks, "In many a system of fashion incorporation of 'exotic' elements plays a significant role, but they are never so emphatic as to disguise the wearer as a member of the alien culture." Thus, incorporating Lydian head pieces while maintaining Ionian or Dorian chitons, or wearing Persian belts or jewelry, should mark someone's fashion as fashionably exotic, but should not cause the wearer to be identified as foreign or as a prostitute.
26. Crielaard (2009) 61.
27. Skinner (2012) 94. The Herodotus story in question is 5.18–20, where the son of the Macedonian king Amyntas became angered at Darius' envoys who over the course of a banquet first ask that the wives of the Macedonians dine with them, and then grope and fondle the women. Amyntas responds to the request of the Persians by stating that it is not their *nomos* to have women present whereas the Persians base their request upon their own *nomos* of sharing banquets with wives and concubines. Most scholars interpret this scene as a division between Greek and eastern customs, and yet Herodotus makes it very clear throughout his *Histories* that customs vary from people to people and from city to city and that one man's custom is another man's crime. The Macedonians themselves are shown arguing for status as Greek within the *Histories* so that to consider this scene as a contrast between what is a Greek custom and what is not seems an over-determination. Rather, the scene shows both the conflict of culture and the price of hubris. It is not a coincidence, I think, that immediately following this story is the story about how the same Alexander of Macedon later went to Olympia and the Greeks attempted to exclude him from participation as a non-Greek.
28. On the Locrians, see Redfield (2003) 201–307.
29. See Bonfante (1981) on Etruscan couples and its meaning in art. See 166–169 especially on the relationship to Greek aristocratic *mores*. The episodes of the profaning of the Mysteries and the mutilation of the Herms speak to the lingering elite culture of *truphê* as does the presence of Persian luxury goods and practices in fifth-century Athens, this despite the move to 'democratic' male nudity as an aesthetic preference in art.
30. See Miller (1997) 63–88 on the importing and use of Persian goods in fifth-century Athens. Miller traces the interest in Persian goods from the proliferation and dispersing of spoils from the Persian Wars. She examines specifically weapons and armor (46–49), textiles and furnishings (49–55), and adornments and private luxury goods (55–62). Miller also discusses the incorporation of Persian-style dress (153–187) and the development of a

luxury culture related to Persian influence (188–217).

31. We should also note here Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (458 BCE) where the chorus recounts how Iphigenia used to sing to her father and his friends while they dined (243–246). Certainly she was not eating and drinking with them, but she, Agamemnon's young unmarried daughter, entertained her father's guest with music, something most scholars suggest was done only by paid entertainers who doubled as prostitutes.
32. Blazenby (2011) 97–100.
33. Miller (1997) 189–216 especially remarks upon the presence of peacocks and parasols and headdresses and other women's accessories among elite iconography and material finds. Slaves themselves, often exotic in portrayal, were a status symbol among the elite. We might view the slanders against these women as attempts at 'democratizing' them.
34. Bicknell (1982) 243 n.30. Gomme (1925) 16 considers the notion that there was a "hetaira-class" in fifth-century Athens and that Aspasia was among them somewhat fantastic. He elaborates at 15 n.1 on Aspasia's traditional associations and asserts, "We need not even doubt that his contemporaries (at least his friends) spoke of Pericles as 'married' to Aspasia. . . . Pericles, remember, divorces his wife before living with Aspasia."
35. Salisbury (2001) 23. The entry continues to discuss her fashionable salon and relationship with Perikles. She also adheres to the view (discredited by Henry and others) that she ran a brothel and trained courtesans. She seems to derive much of her entry from Keuls (1985) 198–199.
36. For example, Reinsberg (1989) and McClure (2003).
37. Further, she makes no reference to the arguments of Henry, although she is listed in the bibliography.
38. See Chapter 1, this volume, on the exceptions to the law made between 430–403 BCE. I agree with Carawan (2008) that this was not a singular exception made for Perikles, but a general rule.
39. Lysikles died in 428 BCE, so their relationship would have lasted less than a year, maybe two if we grant the view that Perikles "tired" of Aspasia before his death (Henry (1995) 16). She occurs in multiple plays of Eupolis between the years 429 and 411 BCE, although three of the four references are concentrated in the 420s. Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (425 BCE) was also produced in this period.
40. Antisthenes wrote dialogues titled both *Aspasia* and *Alcibiades* that seem to have treated the eponymous individuals as corrupting representatives of pleasure. His opposition to pleasure makes its way into a number of anecdotes in Diogenes Laertius. Henry (1995) 32 situates the dialogue within the comedic tradition of attacking politicians and prominent members of society through their sexuality. Kahn (1996) 8–9 suggests from the evidence of the remaining fragments that the *Aspasia* dialogue was an attack on Perikles' personal life and that his divorce of his Athenian wife for Aspasia showed a fundamental failure of Perikles' character—he valued pleasure over virtue and wisdom (wisdom being to marry a wife who could bear the best

children, i.e. citizen children). There is no evidence that Antisthenes considered or called Aspasia a prostitute or madam.

41. So Bicknell (1982) 243 n.30, who sees the error as undermining the entire idea that Aspasia was a *hetaira*, and Olsen (2010) 110 n.123 on this passage in Athenaeus, who sees the error as only affecting her place of origin (not Megara, but Miletos), but seems to treat the use of *hetaira* for Aspasia as correctly indicating she was a courtesan. Davies in *APF* on Perikles rejects Herakleides' statement entirely.
42. Bicknell (1982) on *IG* II 2 5335 and various entries in Davies *APF*.
43. Meiggs (1972) 115–116, 562–565 places the unrest in Miletos and the subsequent secession of Leros and Teichioussa (nearby 'suburbs') as Athenian loyalists to around 455/4 BCE. Bicknell (1982) 247 suggests that Axiochus died in the upheavals thus requiring Alkibiades to take Aspasia with him when he fled. Vestergaard (2000), while focused primarily on the special status of Milesian immigrants to Athens in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, notes as background information the traditionally close ties between Miletos and Athens. Further, he notes that of the 3,300 individuals he recognizes from Attic tombstones as foreigners between approximately 800 BCE–200 CE, a disproportionate number are Milesians. They also seem to have been the most integrated with Athenians, especially after the ban on marriage was lifted (81–82). There is a family gravestone currently standing in the Kerameikos (unpublished, Kerameikos 8819) dated to the middle of the third century BCE for Leontion of Miletos and her husband Philodemos, Athenian citizen of the deme Hamaxanteia, suggesting strongly that the ban had been lifted by the third century CE as she is explicitly named as his wife.
44. Alkibiades II, grandfather of the more famous Alkibiades.
45. Axiochus, son of Alkibiades, was the uncle of the famous Alkibiades and cited by Lysias and Antiphon as Alkibiades' partner in numerous debaucheries including the profanation of the Mysteries and mutilation of the Herms. He likely went into exile with Alcibiades in 415 and was reinstated in Athens along with him in 407/6 BCE. Whereas *APF* 15–17 thinks he was of the same age roughly as Kleinias, Bicknell argues that he was closer in age to his nephew and the child of Alkibiades' second marriage to Aspasia's sister. See Bicknell (1982) 241 for discussion.
46. Bicknell places the birth of Axiochus at 458 BCE and Aspasioi sometime between 457–5 BCE.
47. Although it is possible, Bicknell (1982) 245 notes, that Aspasia and Perikles began their relationship as early as 452/1 BCE, it is more likely that they married after 450 BCE. It is also possible Alkibiades the elder was unaware of the law's change when he returned.
48. Aspasia's age in 450 BCE is thought to have been around twenty or a little younger (Bicknell (1982) 245).
49. If Kleinias had become guardian to his younger half-brothers and step-family upon Alkibiades the Elder's death. Henry does not seem to have considered that Perikles could have become Aspasia's *kurios* or that one of her nephews, Axiochus or Aspasioi, would have done so. But all of these are more likely

than her receiving a non-family *prostas* and then being established in *pallakia* with Perikles by an unknown third party.

50. Henry posits that Perikles Jr. was exempted from the legal requirement of caring for his mother in her old age and likely wanted to be rid of her for the embarrassment a foreign mother could cause him. But this is flawed for two reasons. First, Henry assumes that he was actually a *nothos* after being made a citizen and Perikles' heir and that we know clearly what a *nothos* was (Perikles Jr. was called a *nothos* in a comedy, but he is not named, so we can only assume it was he). Second, Henry forgets that Perikles Jr. was legitimized in 430/429 BCE when he was made a citizen and entered into a phratry thus lifting any exemption to his parental obligations. There are also laws cited at Dem. 46.20 and in Lysias 24 on the obligations of sons to care for widowed mothers and, if under age, to become her *kurios* two years after reaching majority (Cudjoe (2010) 73–79). That Perikles Jr. was a minor upon his father's death does not mean his mother was required to marry.
51. Whereas Schaps (1979) 41–42 discusses the urgency with which some Athenian men wished to remarry the women in their lives (which Henry agrees with), see now Cudjoe (2010) 62ff, who discusses the options widows had, including remaining the 'wife' of her deceased husband and keeping her dowry for herself. We might think also of the mother of Euphiletus in Lysias 1, who lives with her son and his wife and child. Other widows who did not remarry but chose to stay in their deceased husband's house appear in Dem. 57 and Isaeus 8.
52. This is the polite term used of thieves, like 'Procurer' or 'Acquirer' or is used in trade for the person who conveys the goods. Because this information comes originally from a comedy, it seems likely that someone somewhere along the line missed a joke and gave her an additional marriage and child. See Henry (1995) 43 on Aspasia as Lysikles' teacher in the Socratic tradition. For Aspasia as a teacher of rhetoric, see Chapter 5, this volume.
53. Arist. *Ach.* 523–529. There is also the comment in Plutarch *Per.* 24 that the wives and daughters of Pericles' guests sometimes came to hear her speak.
54. This has not been the case among historians who study elite marriage and inheritance practices. Elpinikê, given her family connections, is a lynchpin in understanding the dynamics of a number of important families *APF* 305; see, for example, Cox (1989). However, very few sourcebooks or textbooks on women include information on Elpinikê. She does not appear in Lefkowitz and Fant (2005), and receives one mention only in Pomeroy et al. (1999). Blundell (1995) does not mention her nor does she appear in the *Encyclopedia of Women in the Ancient World*.
55. Hdt. 6.39.2; 6.41.2. *APF* 302 dates the marriage to no later than 506 BCE. A likely date is by 511 BCE because scholars date Kimon's birth to around 510 BCE. Elpinikê was supposedly still a young girl when she married Kallias shortly after 489 BCE (*APF* 259 and 303; Plu. *Kim.* 4.4, where she is called *korê kai agamos*) placing her own birth probably sometime around 500 BCE. She was, thus, likely around thirty years older than Aspasia.
56. Plutarch suggests that they were only half-siblings and that Elpinikê was born

of Miltiades' first marriage. This seems a likely rationalization of the accusations of incest found in Eupolis and incorporated into the rhetorical exercise passed down under the name of Andokides (4.33). None of this should be understood as proof of any legal marriage or incestuous relationship between the siblings. See Cox (1989) on incest charges as part of political discourse.

57. Davies thinks this episode may not have happened based on Perikles' response to Elpinikê, which seems to be a doublet of his response to the attempt to help affect Kimon's return from exile.
58. See Castriota (1992) 77, 130, 260 n.88, 277 n.87 and Kebric (1983) 18. Hölscher (1973) 70–71 disputes the reliability of Plutarch's anecdote. Elpinikê may be named on a vase painting by Polygnotos (Naples 3232, ARV2 132.61; Fig. 5.6). The vase is typically dated to between 450–425 BCE. At one point in the history of the vase, the name Elpinikê was visible, scratched near the figure of a seated woman playing an *aulos* (it is listed as visible by Beazley). Upon recent investigation, however, the inscription no longer appears visible. The vase has been heavily restored and the inscription may have been painted over. There were also other letters visible on the vase at one time that are no longer clear, including what looks to be 'oon,' potentially denoting song (as noted in a communication (4/30/2013) from Marinella Lista, archaeologist with the Museo Archeologico di Napoli and Max Goldman (5/10/2013) who examined the vase on my behalf for evidence of the inscriptions). Although it is unclear what is being represented, it must be some sort of entertainment practice or school. If a school, it would be interesting to consider that the seated woman is the instructor and also to wonder if Elpinikê might not have participated in such an activity as an elite woman training young girls in dance and music. See Vazaki (2003) for extended discussion of musical education for women in classical Athens. She specifically addresses the musical education of prostitutes at pp. 32–35, although her decision to define the women she discusses as prostitutes is without evidentiary support. More broadly, however, Vazaki views musical and literary education as the province of *parthenoi*, which was intended to make them more attractive to prospective husbands. One wonders who taught them.
59. Davies assumes that Elpinikê and Kallias divorced some time before Elpinikê's death because Elpinikê was buried in the Kimonid family tomb (Plu. *Cim.* 4.3). Cox (1989) 35, however, disputes the need for a divorce based on Humphreys' (1980) discussion of family burial practices (esp. 111–115). According to Humphreys, burial in the paternal family tomb or with a sibling was suggestive of close ties to that family. Trends in individual grave markers also suggest a closer bond between a woman and her paternal family than with the husband's. On the majority of tombs examined by Vestergaard, Hansen, and Bjertrup (1985), the woman was listed not as "wife of" but as "daughter of" suggesting that the paternal family was the more important even after marriage. Davies assumes that Kallias' pro-Periklean activities in the 450s and 440s made his alliance with Kimon's family moot, citing both his work as an ambassador in 449 BCE and his son (and Elpinikê's son) Hipponikus' marriage to Pericles' former wife in the 440s. Cox makes a strong

case, however, that marriage alliances did not dictate political activities of the various families.

60. Brenne (1994) 13.
61. Sommerstein (1980) 399.
62. [Andok.] 4.33. He refers to her only as “his sister.”
63. On the politics of gossip and its traces, see Hunter (1990) 299–325.
64. Another *ostrakon* for Megakles, on display in the Kerameikos Museum has his name scratched over an *aulos* player, a symbol, I think, like his mother, of his luxurious lifestyle.
65. The name originates in Eretria and then was used by women of this particular Athenian family. I point this out because scholars often try to use the foreignness of a name to categorize a woman as a citizen or as a prostitute. Foreign names, especially among elite families, can be nothing more than an indication that at some point in the past, the name was adopted by the family through marriage or honorifically. Byrne’s website *Athenian Onomasticon*, which provides regular updates to the *LPGN* II (1994) and *FRA* (1996) as epigraphical knowledge increases, gives clear evidence that many names of women were shared by Athenians and non-Athenians alike by the fifth century BCE.
66. Shear (1963) 99–112; *APF* 379–391; Lavelle (1989) 503–513. The relationship of both Megakles and Koisyra to Perikles may put into perspective the tradition preserved in Plutarch that he shunned symposia and anything that smacked of a luxurious lifestyle.
67. Hunter (1990) 317. Even Euripides was subject to such ridicule, although his mother was not named in the extant comedies in which she is mocked for being a vegetable seller (Arist. *Arch.* 473–479, *Thesm.* 383–388) or a garland-seller (*Thesm.* 455–456).
68. This is the Megakles who was ostracized in 487 BCE and who, while in exile, won the chariot race at Pythia. Pindar wrote Pythian 7 in his honor. He clearly knew how to enjoy his exile.
69. Hunter (1990) 316–321. The *scholia* on line 46 that they were runaway Eretrian slaves.
70. In Anakreon Fr. 388, West (1993) proposes in his translation to exchange Koisyra’s name for the Kyke Hermann uses. Such an alteration makes the poem clearer—Artemon is a social climber who decks himself out like a regular Megakles. The woman is not, as Kurke (1997) 119–122 suggests, a prostitute whose mention is intended to show Artemon’s lowly beginning, but instead the paradigm of puffed-up luxury intended to mark Artemon as arrogant, prettified, and pretentious. Koisyra is also referred to as μέγα φρονεῖν in the Aristophanic *scholia*, a term typically translated as “arrogant” and associated specifically with tyrants. It is used of Hippolytus by Aphrodite at *Hipp.* 6, emphasizing his foreign status and his potential as a usurper of Theseus’ legitimate sons.
71. We might add here Agaristê, who testified as a witness on the profanation of

the Mysteries. Pomeroy suggests she may have been an eye-witness and participant in the affair. Corner (2012) 39 dismisses this by saying, "If she was present, it would have been another scandalous feature of an altogether scandalous occasion that stood in quite deliberate opposition to all standards of respectability." Yes, it would, but that does not mean it did not happen. Respectable denotes behavior and even wealthy, elite citizen women were not always well-behaved any more than the men were.

72. Gomme (1925) 7.

73. And much of the evidence that contradicts the model is redefined or discussed as the housewives being "hetairized" as has happened in recent studies of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* and of priestesses in Athens. See Faraone (2006) and Gilhuly (2009) 140–179. It seems impossible given the functional definitions of prostitution to conclude that priestesses were not begrudged their public status or that wives were not both sexual subjects and eroticized, as they are portrayed in comedy and in bridal vases and some genre vases. This is something Bonfante (1981) misses in her discussion of Etruscan iconography in comparison with Greek. See Sutton (1992) 14–32 especially on the eroticization of wedding, courtship, and ritual bathing scenes on Attic pottery during the fifth century BCE.

74. On reasons for Peisistratos' decision to spend his exile in Eretria, see Walker (2004) 183–206. Although not explicit in Athenian sources, Eretria itself was, according to Walker, a hegemonic power in the region and may even have been competitive with the Athenians in the early years after the overthrow of the Peisistratids, which could have caused additional tensions for Koisyra's family and increased their "foreignness" in the eyes of some Athenians.

75. On Megakles' ostracism, see Lavelle (1988). On the role assigned the Peisistratids as foreign-sponsored tyrants in Athenian democratic ideology, see Anderson (2003) *passim*.

76. Plutarch *Life of Kimon* 4.3.

77. As Miller (1997) 30–31 points out, Kallias, Elpinikê's husband, is said to have gained his wealth as a result of the battle of Marathon. Plutarch recounts a story in the *Life of Aristides* that Kallias, remaining at the battle field with his tribe to guard the booty while the rest rushed back to Athens, found a store of treasure that one of the Persian officers had hidden (*Arist.* 5.6–7). The story is not given credence by Davies in *APF*, but Miller's emphasis on the existence of spoils from Marathon and its potential impact on the Athenians even in the years before Xerxes' invasion is important.

78. Perikles' own father Xanthippos was ostracized in the anti-tyranny backlash following the Persian Wars.

79. Andok. 1.16, Lysias Fr. 4.

80. *Ach.* 532–529; *Her.* 1.1–4.

81. See Chapter 5, this volume, for discussion.

82. Vatican 272. See Gardner (1918) for discussion of the statue type.

83. And we should not forget the sister of Harmodius who is shamed publicly by

Hippias. She is not named in Herodotus, but that tells us nothing of whether she was publicly named in her own day. If Elpinikê and Koisyra are any evidence, though, it is likely she was.

84. It is one of the striking elements of Kapparis' (1999) introduction to his commentary on *Against Neaira* that he accepts uncritically Lucian's description of the life of a courtesan as true, while questioning the validity of using that same source (along with other late sources) as true for points of law.
85. Davidson (2006) 36 comments, "we hear of 'married hetairia' in monogamous, but not, in fact, married relationships . . ." He does not cite any instances in the ancient sources of these women and offers no comment on how one knows that they are not married. Marriage in Athens was dependent on social recognition, not legal documentation. Repeatedly we see in the sources that marriage must be testified to by the community and there is little in the texts that can tell the reader not to take the reference to the marriage as anything other than the social acceptance of their relationship as marriage. The absence of a marriage needed to be proven in court through the calling of witnesses to the existence or not of a dowry and contract. One's status, both as citizen or as married, was not necessarily visible in person or (despite wishful thinking) in images.
86. Nevett (2011).
87. In the United States there have been a number of high-profile attempts in recent memory of discrediting a woman and silencing her through 'slut shaming' in either the public media or in court. The 2012 attacks on law student Sandra Fluke are emblematic. She testified in Congress in support of a new requirement that employers and universities include coverage for contraception in student health insurance policies. She was then criticized in various media outlets as a "slut," "whore," and "prostitute" and accused of wanting US taxpayers to pay for her sexual activities.

4 The Dangers of the Big City

Between 403 BCE, when the Periklean Citizenship Law was reinstated, and the 330s when the rise of Macedon altered the landscape of Athens and began effecting changes both on Athens' democracy and on its treatment of foreigners in the city, the legal status of metic women seems to have stabilized. This was the period in which metic women faced the most restrictions and when we have the most evidence for their daily activities and legal struggles. It is also the period when the most confusion seems to arise among scholars over who was and who was not a prostitute among metic women. This confusion is due to a handful of orations, such as the sensational *Against Naeira* ([Dem.] 59), that accuse women of living indecent lives and of either prostituting themselves or others. Some of these women were, of course, prostitutes. But others do not lend themselves to such identification and there are hints throughout the texts that their occupations and statuses (beyond being metics) are not so easily resolved. Inherent prejudices are clearly manifested against women in public spaces, against women without family connections, against women of the lower classes, and against women in certain occupations. Metic women found themselves locked out of the citizen body and, in some instances, even without basic protections in law. The metic women whose lives we learn of most frequently in the fourth-century sources seem to have fallen prey to the fully developed ideology of the metic woman in which they all became transgressive women. Women who did or could not conform to standards of womanly *arête* by marrying metic men, in particular, found themselves targets of extreme forms of this prejudice. The ban on marriage that finally went into effect sometime in the 380s or 370s erected yet another barrier for metic women and we see evidence of alternative arrangements being developed for now unmarriage-able metic women, arrangements intended to provide a level of security in an increasingly dangerous city.

Scholars have frequently mistaken some of the situations we find metic women in for prostitution. Such mistakes among scholars are inevitable given both the rhetorical force of the prejudices wielded against metic women in the courts and the difficulties in establishing a woman's status in Athens generally. In some ways, it was frequently easier in Athens to verify the identity of a metic woman than a citizen.

In fact, we learn the most about how metic status was defined in Athens and how prejudices against them manifested in practice in cases that dispute the status of citizen women (commonly in inheritance cases). In a number of orations attributed to Demosthenes and Isaeus we see not only the citizen status, but also even the existence of particular women debated. In Dem. 43 (*Against Macartatus*) and Isaeus 6 (*On the Estate of Philoktemon*), the instability (and invisibility) of status is most evident. Speakers in both speeches deny the existence of a woman, Phylomachê in Dem. 43 and Kallipê in Isaeus 6 based on a lack of witnesses to testify and verify that they had lived. Although it is suggested in Isaeus 3 (*On the Estate of Pyrrhus*) that one could present a daughter (or a new wife) to one's phratry as a way to ensure witnesses in the event that she became an *epikleros* (3.74–75), their names, as Kapparis reminds us, “were not written on the register . . .”¹ More than fifty years after the marriage might have taken place, the speaker in Isaeus 6 uses lack of witnesses as the basis for calling into question both the existence of Kallipê and the legitimate status of the two children she is said to have borne to Euktemon (6.10–16).² The case against the metic Neaira also hinges on the citizen status of a woman, Phano, the daughter of Stephanos. Without deme or phratry records, the legitimacy and citizen status of a woman was dependent on the ability to muster up ample male relatives to act as witnesses to one's birth, marriage, dowry, childbearing, and more.³ How easy would it be for a young woman to find herself without male relatives, without support, and without the ability to prove her citizen status, especially at the end of the fifth and beginning of the fourth centuries when the losses of family members had climbed due to decade after decade of full-time war and recurring plague? How many citizen women found themselves thrust into the ranks of metic women as a result? And how many of them had to look for alternatives to marriage to support themselves? How many of them failed to register as metics because they were not, but were sold into slavery for failure to prove it? We will not ever know the answers to these questions, but they show how precarious life was for an independent woman of any status in Athens, especially metic women. In this chapter, I examine the situations of a number of metic women who lived during the fourth century and whose lives serve as case studies in the dangers and prejudices metic women faced in Athens.⁴

Precarious Lives

The precariousness of the lives of metic women can be seen in numerous references to them in fourth-century orations. A number of clear examples are found in *Against Aristogeiton I* (Dem. 25). Aristogeiton was an orator and politician attacked in numerous speeches as a sycophant and demagogue. In the first of two such speeches from the Demosthenic corpus, the speaker accuses Aristogeiton of speaking in the courts while a public debtor.⁵ In an attempt to paint Aristogeiton as a shameless savage, the speaker discusses his maltreatment of three women, all metics.⁶ The first is Zobia, a metic woman of independent status who had enough of an income (from what source we are never told) to lend Aristogeiton eight drachma. But upon demanding repayment of the loan, Aristogeiton forced her to the auction room at the metic registry (πρὸς τὸ πωλητηρίον τοῦ μετοικίου ἀπήγαγεν, 25.57) where he charged her with *graphê aprostasiou* (failure to register and pay the *metoikion*) and would have sold her had her tax not been paid. Fortunately, her *prostatês* and the *polêtês*, whose job it was to sell metics who failed to pay their tax, testified in her favor. The speaker himself is respectful in his treatment of Zobia and presents the events as not her fault but instead as a clear indicator of Aristogeiton's bad character—he is called τὸ θηρίον καὶ ἄμεικτον (25.58) and his actions against Zobia are comparable to biting off a man's nose (ἀπεσθίει τὴν ῥῖνα τάνθρώπου). So foul is Aristogeiton that not even other prisoners want to consort with him (25.61). And yet, while Zobia could be saved from the depredations of a man like Aristogeiton by her honest *prostatês*, she had no recourse to reclaim her eight drachma it seems. Two other metic women mentioned in the speech were not so fortunate.

The two women mentioned after Zobia were Aristogeiton's sister and mother. Both were metics and both were sold into slavery after, it seems, unsuccessful defenses against charges of *aprostasiou*. The sister was charged by Aristogeiton himself, though his brother is said to have prosecuted him for it in turn.⁷ We do not know if the sister was reclaimed from slavery as a result of her other brother's intervention, but we can explore the family dynamics that allowed a sister and mother to be metics while the brothers were not. We know that the sister was born of the same mother but of a different father. We also should note that the speaker politely declines to go into the

circumstances of the sister's birth (25.55). It is clear that the father was not in a position to arbitrate on her behalf against her citizen half-brother. We also cannot know what sort of legal obligations Aristogeiton would have had towards her or protections she would have had in law against her citizen kin. We only know that such was the life of a metic woman that she was not even safe from members of her own family, especially if they were citizens and she was not. Aristogeiton's behavior is held up as despicable; it does not appear to be illegal.

The case of Aristogeiton's mother is equally intriguing. She was reportedly prosecuted and sold as the result of a *graphê aprostasiou* (though not by Aristogeiton). What her actual status was that allowed this, however, we can only guess. According to the speaker, Aristogeiton was an enfranchised freedman, or his father was. It is unclear. At 25.78, we are told that Aristogeiton could not appeal to any service to the state by himself or his father and had no *kaloi kagathoi* (good and noble) kin to stand for him, "for how could there be for someone not born free?" (πῶς γὰρ τῷ γε μηδ' ἐλευθέρῳ).⁸ His father, we are told at 25.65, was condemned to death by the Athenians (τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ θάνατον κατέγωντε), while his mother was sold for not having a *prostates* (τὴν μητέρ' αὐτοῦ ὀφλοῦσαν ἀπροστασίου ἀπέδοσθε).⁹ Thus, Aristogeiton's mother was a metic as was his sister while Aristogeiton, his brother, and possibly father had somehow achieved citizenship. Did the sons achieve citizenship after the execution of the father and sale of the mother? Or is it more likely that the father *had* done service to the state that had earned him citizenship along with his children, but then later was convicted for some malfeasance that could have led to his execution? His wife, Aristogeiton's mother, however, clearly did not receive citizenship or she would not have needed a *prostates* and we can only assume that the sister was born of a metic father and charged with not having a *prostates* as well.¹⁰ The parallel situation that might explain why his mother did not have citizenship and needed to register as a metic is that of Archippê, mother of Apollodoros and wife of both the famous bankers Pasion and Phormio, whose story gives us further insight into what Aristogeiton's mother's position may have been.

We know of Archippê from two speeches, one written by Demosthenes (Dem. 36, *On Behalf of Phormio*) and the other by Apollodoros against an associate of Phormio's (Dem. 45, *Against Stephanos*). Pasion, a freedman, was granted citizenship along with his

children for services to the state. His wife at the time of the enfranchisement was Archippê, who had already borne him Apollodoros and who would subsequently bear him Pasikles. Pasikles was born a citizen, which suggests that Archippê was granted citizenship along with her spouse Pasion since the law of dual citizen parentage was in effect at the time of Pasikles' birth. It seems, however, that while the husband and children were naturalized (even those children born before the grant of citizenship), Archippê was only given temporary citizen status—so long as she was married to Pasion, her children with him would be citizens. Once Pasion died, however, her status must have reverted to metic and thus she was able to marry Phormio, a freedman of Pasion's who also was made guardian of Pasion's estate for Apollodoros and Pasikles, though he was not yet himself a citizen. Phormio was eventually made a citizen and Archippê's children by him were also made citizens.¹¹ It is this transient citizenship, however, that interests us and that may have been what Aristogeiton's mother had and lost when Aristogeiton's father was executed.

The metic woman in cases of enfranchisement, then, was not enfranchised herself, but was permitted to hold the place of a citizen wife if her marriage to the enfranchised individual predated the citizenship grant. If she divorced or her spouse pre-deceased her, she reverted to metic status and was once again subject to the metic tax and the need for a *prostates*. In the case of Archippê, she was willed to Phormio, at that time a metic himself (despite Apollodoros' protestations at various points throughout the speech that he should still be considered a slave). Apollodoros was of age to be his mother's *prostates*, but was neither made the guardian of his younger brother Pasikles, nor of his mother, something Cohen argues makes sense within the context of banking families.¹² Can we assume the same situation for Aristogeiton's mother, then? Perhaps Aristogeiton was underage at the time of his father's death. His mother must have been left with no other male relatives to speak of, not unusual for a freed slave, if she was one. Such a situation once again underscores the perilous status of the metic woman and her uniqueness in Athenian law—a metic woman could never be enfranchised and her status was always dependent on circumstances largely outside her control. She was also, as a result, left extremely vulnerable to malicious prosecution by citizens.

How widespread was the practice suggested by the cases of Zobia and Aristogeiton's sister and mother is unclear, but may also be

reflected in the so-called *phialai* inscriptions.¹³ Although these inscriptions are traditionally associated with the manumission of slaves, Elizabeth Meyer has argued that they may be better understood within the context of metic legal status and the *graphê aprostasiou*, failure to pay the *metoikion* or have a *prostates*, a case that is difficult at times to differentiate from the *apostasiou* with which the inscriptions are traditionally associated. The inscriptions are characterized by lists with a common formula of “x, living in [deme], [profession],¹⁴ having escaped conviction by y, *phialê* by weight 100 drachma.” Of the 413 entries (as counted by Meyer), 116 are definitely female, while 141 entries are of indeterminate gender and so could include more women. A large percentage of the names inscribed are women and if we assume that at least some of the 141 ambiguous listings are also women, we see how frequent cases challenging a metic woman’s status were—and these are only the record of those who made dedications that we have found. We can also assume that the dedications only reflect successful defenses, not the total number of cases. The inscriptions date to after 335 BCE, but probably record dedications from at least a decade prior.¹⁵ Such a high number over such a long period of time has a number of implications for metic women, especially since these dedications would reflect only successful defenses and we have no way of estimating the ratio of successful to failed prosecutions. First, it suggests that cases like that of Zobia, Aristogeiton’s mother, and his sister are not anomalous. Second, if this is the type of case, like the *graphê xenias*, where the prosecutor gets a portion of the profits from the sale, then independent metic women would have been extremely vulnerable since proving one’s status was so heavily dependent on the testimony of witnesses.¹⁶ The *phialai* inscriptions, however, seem to reflect an attempt to lessen the dangers metics were subject to in Athenian law by potentially punishing the unsuccessful prosecutor for a wrongful lawsuit.¹⁷ It is unclear how successful that attempt was.

The precariousness of their legal situation is accentuated even more by their inability to hold others accountable for violence against them. An extreme case in point is that of an unnamed metic freedwoman and former nurse in Dem. 47 (*Against Evergus and Mnesibulus*). In the speech, the speaker recounts a raid on his property by a man to whom he had owed a debt. The debt, he argues, was paid on the very day that the raid took place and suggested that the arrangement to receive payment was a charade to get him away from the house while his property was illegally being seized. Living in the home at the time was

an elderly woman who had once been a slave in their household and his nurse, but who had been freed by his father. After being freed, she married and lived in her own household. After the death of her husband and many years after she had been given her freedom, she was invited to live with the speaker (αὐτὴ γραῦς ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἦν αὐτὴν ὁ θρέψων, ἐπανῆκεν ὡς ἐμέ, 47.55). She was killed, the speaker tells us, by the men who were attempting to seize assets from the house (47.58–59). The old woman refused to give over a cup she was holding and was brutally beaten (εἰς τοῦτο δ' ἦλθον πονηρίας ὥστε, ἔως ἀφείλοντο τὸ κυμβίον ἐκ τοῦ κ ὅλπου αὐτῆς, οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο ἄγχι οντες καὶ τύπτοντες τὴν γραῦν; 47.59). Six days after the events, she died from her wounds. We learn a number of things about the legal status of metic women. The nurse, whose spouse had died without leaving behind grown children or without having made alternate arrangements, was left with limited available options for residency, income, or even survival. Older women, in particular, who were beyond the years when they could work a trade or continue on as nurses or remarry had limited choices. This particular nurse had the good fortune to have her former charge offer her a place to live with his own family. How frequently this happened for such freedwomen we do not know, but the speaker does not present it as odd.¹⁸ We might even presume the speaker was her *prostates*. Her death, however, raises a number of legal questions and highlights the unstable and precarious status that independent metic women had. After her death, the speaker asked officials what duties he had to hold her murderers accountable because she was not a blood relative or household slave. While sacred law declared that he bury her properly, since she was no relation of his by blood nor was she any longer his property as a slave, there was no recourse in the courts against the men at whose hands she had died (47.68–72). Without living relatives, her life was essentially meaningless in law. In fact, the men who beat her could not be held responsible for her medial care either:

ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἐπαγγελαντός μου αὐτῷ θεραπεύειν τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἣν συνέκομαν καὶ ἱατρὸν εἰσάγειν οὐκ ἐφρόντιζον, ἐγὼ αὐτὸς εἰσήγαγον ἱατρὸν ᾧ πολλὰ ἔτη ἐχρώμην, ὃς ἐθεράπευεν αὐτὴν ἄρρωστοῦσαν, καὶ ἐπέδειξα ὡς εἶχεν, εἰσαγαγὼν μάρτυρας. ἀκούσας δὲ τοῦ ἱατροῦ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔτι εἴη ἡ ἄνθρωπος, πάλιν ἐτέρους μάρτυρας παραλαβὼν τὴν τε ἄνθρωπον ἐπέδειξα ὡς εἶχεν, καὶ ἐπήγγεila τούτοις θεραπεύειν. ἔκτη τοίνυν ἡμέρᾳ ὕστερον ἢ οὗτοι εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐτελεύτησεν ἡ τιτθὴ (47.67).

Therefore, jurors, when I demanded that he tend to the woman whom they had beaten and bring in a doctor, since they disregarded my request, I myself brought in a doctor whom I had consulted with over many years. He tended to her while she was ailing. I showed him her condition and produced witnesses. I heard from the doctor that the woman would not long survive and then once again demanded, having produced further witnesses as to her condition, that those men take care of her. On the sixth day after they entered my house, my nurse died.

This is somewhat disturbing and we might consider women like Zobia as well—Aristogeiton was apparently being kind when he only attempted to sell Zobia into slavery. At least he did not kill her. With no family to speak of, a woman like Zobia could be murdered without accountability, it seems. The idea implicit in Dem. 47 concerning the nurse is that what makes the life of the metic woman, specifically the independent metic woman, so precarious was the lack of accountability those who harmed them were subject to. We might consider here the speech of the young lover in Menander *Dyskolos* at 57–68 where he states that he would simply break down the door of a *hetaira* and rape her (εὐθὺς ἀρπάσας φέρω, μεθύω, κατακάω) because he would be held *unaccountable* (λόγον ὅλως οὐκ ἀνέχουμαι).¹⁹ The metic woman without family connections was a legal non-entity in classical Athens as far as private law was concerned.²⁰

Violence Against Metic Women: the Case of Neaira

Neaira perhaps best exemplifies the precariousness of metic women's lives and the violence to which they could be subjected without recourse in law. Neaira is the subject of a speech by Apollodoros ([Dem.] 59), in which Apollodoros attacks her on charges of *graphê xenias* (pretending to be a citizen), living in marriage with an Athenian citizen, and further, of attempting to pass off her own children as citizens. Apollodoros attacks her in an attempt to ruin his enemy Stephanos, the man accused of illegally marrying Neaira and fathering children with her. The speech, however, is only minimally interested in proving these charges. Instead, Apollodoros devotes the bulk of his time to weaving a tale of the life of Neaira from her childhood as a brothel slave to her days as a supposed prostitute in

Athens itself. The events he recounts take place decades before this case is taken to court. Neaira's situation and the case presented against her have been much discussed by scholars given how salacious the details are and how much of a supposed insight the speech gives us into the lives of prostitutes. It is a story intended to make the jury unsympathetic to the accused, but one that demonstrates as well the dangers that an independent metic woman was subject to (not to mention the prejudices).

As with Zobia and the unnamed murdered nurse of Dem. 47, the ability of citizens to act upon metic women who had no relatives without fear of repercussions or accountability could lead to horrible results. In the case of Neaira, after buying her freedom, she came to Athens with the citizen Phrynion. According to the speech, she ran away from Phrynion to Megara a short while later where Stephanos met her. She left because Phrynion treated her like a prostitute and, beyond that, permitted her to be raped in his company, possibly even gang rape, for which no one was or could be held accountable (59.33–35). Even Apollodoros is unable to hide that Neaira was brutally abused and was herself horrified at this treatment of her person (ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἀσελγῶς προὔπηλακίζετο ὑπὸ τοῦ Φρυνίωνος καὶ οὐχ ὥς ᾤετο ἡγαπᾶτο, οὐδ' ὑπερέτει αὐτῇ ἃ ἐβούλετο . . . ἀποδιδράσκει εἰς Μέγαρα, 59.35). He even calls it hubris (διηγησαμένη πάντα τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ τὴν ὕβριν τοῦ Φρυνίωνος, 59.37), though he later faults *her* for having wronged Phrynion (φοβουμένη δὲ τὸν Φρυνίωνα διὰ τὸ ἡδικηκέναι μὲν αὐτή, 59.37), a classic 'blame-the-victim' strategy.²¹ It was only because she was able to procure Stephanos as a *prostates* and because he was willing to stand with her before the *polemarch* that Neaira was able to find some level of security and stability as a metic in Athens. To her good fortune, that stability lasted nearly three decades until Apollodoros' attacks.

The treatment Neaira was subjected to by Phrynion and his friends seems to have been justifiable in Apollodoros' estimation in no small part because of Neaira's former status as a slave. That Neaira was a freed slave and metic is not contested by Stephanos (as Apollodoros concedes despite spending a great deal of time and effort attempting to prove it). But just how she came to become a metic in Athens is not as clear. According to Apollodoros, she was a slave (probably a prostitute) and was purchased by two men to share from Nikaretê, her former owner (59.29). She was later granted by each of them a sum to pay towards her freedom while she sought to borrow the rest of the

required money from other former lovers (59.30). An Athenian man named Phrynion loaned to her the rest of the balance she needed to pay the twenty minae for her freedom (καὶ δέϊται αὐτοῦ προσθέντα τὸ ἐπίλοιπον, οὗ προσέδει εἰς τὰς εἴκ οσι μνᾶς, 59.31). Phrynion then took her back to Athens and treated her more like his own slave than as a free woman:

ἀφικόμενος τοίνυν δεῦρο ἔχων αὐτὴν ἀσελγῶς καὶ προπετῶς ἐχρήτο αὐτῇ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ δείπνα ἔχων αὐτὴν πανταχοῖ ἐπορεύετο ὅπου πῖνοι, ἐκώμαζε τ' αἰετ' αὐτοῦ, συνῆν τ' ἐμφανῶς ὅποτε βουλευθεῖη πανταχοῦ, φιλοτιμίαν τὴν ἐξουσίαν πρὸς τοὺς ὀρώντας ποιούμενος (59.33).

Arriving back [in Athens] with her in tow, he treated her with contempt and violently. He took her all around town with him to dinner parties where there was drinking. Always she joined in the festivities with him. He had intercourse with her openly whenever and wherever he wanted, putting on a show for onlookers of his power over her.

None of this sounds as if she was, in fact, free. Phrynion had power (ἐξουσίαν) over her and seemed able to treat her as he wished. But, Apollodoros says at 59.38 that Neaira took Stephanos as her *prostates*. This implies that she was a free metic. Apollodoros then discusses the arrangement between Phrynion and Stephanos at 59.40, where they are directed to share her time. This suggests she was not free, or not fully free. It is confusing, to say the least.

Neaira's situation has been one of the pieces of evidence used to suggest that slaves were not 'fully' free once they bought their freedom,²² but it may have to do with one of two things: the fact that she did not buy her freedom with her own money entirely (Phrynion fronted the majority of the money) and she may still have owed him the money since Apollodoros says it was a loan or debt (*eranos*); until the debt was paid, she was not autonomous.²³ Or Apollodoros is misrepresenting the events of thirty years prior in order to make her life story more sordid and her relationship to Stephanos less reputable. The latter is my preferred interpretation. But then we are told that the *polemarch* named her "her own *kuria* " at 59.46 and therefore free and independent:

γνώμην ἀπεφάνησαντο, καὶ οὗτοι ἐνέμειναν αὐτῇ, τὴν μὲν ἄνθρωπον ἐλευθέραν εἶναι καὶ αὐτὴν αὐτῆς κυρίαν, ἃ δ' ἐξῆλθεν ἔχουσα Νέαιρα παρὰ Φρυνίου, χωρὶς ἱματίων καὶ χρυσίων καὶ θεραπαινῶν, ἃ αὐτῇ τῇ ἀνθρώπῳ ἡγοράσθη, ἀποδοῦναι Φρυνίῳ πάντα· συνεῖναι δ' ἑκατέρω ἡμέραν παρ' ἡμέραν· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως πως ἀλλήλους πείθωσι, ταῦτα κύρια εἶναι· τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια τῇ ἀνθρώπῳ τὸν ἔχοντα ἀεὶ παρέχειν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ λοιποῦ χρόνου φίλους εἶναι ἀλλήλοις καὶ μὴ μνησικακεῖν (59.46).

They rendered the following decision and the men abided by it: first, the woman was declared **free and her own master**; second, Neaira was to give back everything she had fled Phrynion's house with except her clothing, jewels, and maids—these things had been bought especially for her; next, she was to reside with the men on alternating days unless they came to a different agreement, in which case, the other arrangement would be in force; next, the woman's maintenance was to be paid by whoever kept her [in his home]; finally, it was decided that the men become friends moving forward and bear each other no ill will.

The situation that Apollodoros describes here, the shared arrangement, makes no sense if Neaira was indeed declared independent and free by the *polemarch* and was permitted to take Stephanos as her *prostates*. I agree with Meyer that she was in truth always 'fully free' and not obligated to Phrynion. Meyer notes that Apollodoros says that Phrynion seized her as a slave (we are not told that he prosecuted her for *dikê apostasiou*). The most likely scenario is that he attempted to claim ownership of her as a slave (a lie, it seems), not that she had improperly switched her *prostates*. The two different definitions offered by the lexicographers of *apostasiou* are either "to disregard the will of one's *prostates*" or "to flee one's owner." Neaira could have been taken to the *polemarch* for either reason, but the latter seems the most likely and also seems the correct understanding of *apostasiou*. Phrynion lost his case and Neaira was declared free. The testimony that she was shared by Phrynion and Stephanos seems aimed at suggesting that she was still working as a prostitute at that time.²⁴ Indeed, Phrynion disappears from the narrative right after Apollodoros claims to have witnesses that the men shared her agreeably for a time after this.²⁵ Would Neaira have been subjected to such accusations and treatment if she had been a freeborn metic woman? Apollodoros, perhaps because of his own anxieties over being an enfranchised citizen born of a freed slave, directs the majority of his effort in his case against Neaira to trying to prejudice his audience against her instead of providing real evidence of his charges.²⁶ Casting suspicion upon her status as a free person

serves as a primary vehicle for prejudice.²⁷

In law, metic women were overwhelmingly disadvantaged and their prosecutors, as in the case of Neaira, had not only a skewed legal system to rely upon, but also could use a law code that often left those who attacked metic women unaccountable altogether. Further, the way metic women were represented in court suggests that juries may have been predisposed to believe the worst of these women. How much of this belief was a reflection of their real status and character, though, and how much was a product of the prejudices that might have aligned against them, prejudices that positioned them as a threat to Athenian society, should be considered. In the case of Neaira, we see very clearly the ideology of the metic woman at work. The case against her was shaped by prejudices inherent in the Citizenship Law and marriage ban; the goal of the orators was to arouse prejudices against the women. Apollodoros invokes the idea that the safety of a wanton foreign whore like Neaira came at the expense of some respectable citizen girl's marriage (59.110–112) and he expected his audience to agree. Their precarious situation in law and society was as much a product of prejudice as anything else because this prejudice made it less urgent to provide them with protections in law.

Social Prejudices

The precariousness of the lives of metic women in fourth-century Athens can be attributed in part to their often ambiguous legal status and to the lack of recourse metic women living in Athens without male family had in the courts for wrongs done them. But much of the danger faced by metic women in Athens was a result of prejudices directed against them both as foreigners and as women who lived generally outside the confines of the private world of the citizen family. Independent metic women, women liable for their own *metoikion* and who may have been labeled αὐτὴ αὐτῆς κυρία, often lived their lives more publicly since they frequently needed to work to support themselves at some point and this opened them up to all sorts of slanders based on classist and gender-based prejudices prevalent in Athenian society. Their status as foreign was also increasingly a source of prejudice from the middle of the fifth century onward. Being foreign did not exclude them from certain types of praise based on

standards of behavior for women, but it did limit their acceptability in Athenian culture outside of the private home.

The evidence that metic women were able to participate in the *aretê* of the citizen wife in a limited capacity has been discussed in [Chapter 2](#) with respect to the development of ideology of the metic woman in the fifth century. Grave *stelai* from the fourth century continue to demonstrate that metic women married to metic men were considered respectable and were, perhaps, less subject to arbitrary legal attacks. Regardless of their place of origin and ethnic background, their tomb iconography is identical to that of citizen wives and mothers. Tombs such as that of Demetria of Kyzikus ([Fig. 4.1](#)),²⁸ Theano of Erythrai ([Fig. 2.3](#)), and Eirene of Byzantium ([Fig. 4.2](#)) are only a small number of examples of such imagery. Eirene's *stèle* stands out, however, for its bilingual Phoenician inscription. We often think of metics in Athens like Lysias or Isaeus as being from other Greek cities (as Byzantium was), but it is not coincidental that foreign speech or speaking with a foreign accent was a mark of the metic and was viewed with at least a bit of prejudice.²⁹ Cities like Byzantium were much more ethnically diverse because of their location on a major trading route and divisions between the various Greeks, Phoenicians, Scythians, and others who lived and visited there were less controlled than in Athens. Prejudices in Athens, however, may have increased in no small part because freed slaves entered the metic ranks, among whom were large numbers from the Near East.³⁰ For women this ethnic prejudice must have been an acute problem given that many freed slave metic women worked in trades deemed inappropriate for citizen women. The dynamics of the fifth century that elevated the status of citizen women also served to elevate metic women who married other metics and lived a comparable life of privacy, at least ideologically. And yet, those metic women who engaged in various ways with citizen men—even those in marriages or marriage alternatives—could find themselves attacked in public gossip, dragged into courts, or even to the auction block. Citizen women themselves were not free from the prejudices applied to metic women if they exhibited behaviors or attributes deemed 'foreign' or 'slavish,' two ideas that became linked strongly in discourses of ethnicity in the fourth century, most famously in Aristotle's notion of natural slavery and in climatic theories of ethnic difference.³¹

Demosthenes' mother Kleobulê is one example where the prejudice is explicit. She was a *metroxenê* born at a time when it was acceptable for a citizen to be born with one citizen parent (the same time when

the father of Euxitheus, the speaker of Dem. 57, was born; 57.30). And yet, Aeschines attempts to undermine Demosthenes' credibility and patriotism by wielding her foreignness against him, calling her the "Scythian."³² Aeschines mentions her birth nearly half a dozen times in his speech against Demosthenes (2.77–78, 93, 180) as if that alone would be enough to prejudice the



Figure 4.1 Grave stele, Demetria of Kyzikus. Mid-fourth century BCE. Athenian Agora I 3174.

audience against his opponent. Given the strand of the ideology of the metic woman found most prominently in plays like *Hippolytus* and the types of attacks made against *metroxenê* like Elpinikê and Koisyra, we might wonder also if the refusal by Demosthenes' guardian to marry his mother (despite taking the dowry) did not have something to do with her tainted blood.³³ Although it is likely that Demosthenes' grandmother was Milesian or even an Athenian whose family lived abroad and not Scythian,³⁴ there was a long tradition among the Athenians and Greeks in general of the Scythians being unruly, wild, and very un-Greek. There were also the public slaves in Athens who were Scythian. By linking Demosthenes' mother to these public slaves and to the prejudices attached to Scythians in general,³⁵ he suggests foreign and slavish origins for Demosthenes, a dynamic that we see clearly in the increasingly vicious attacks Apollodoros levels at his own metic mother as he seeks repeatedly to discredit Phormio in Dem. 45 (*Against Stephanos*).

Apollodoros' speech against Stephanos³⁶ is an indirect assault on his stepfather Phormio, whom Stephanos testified on behalf of in an earlier lawsuit. Apollodoros had been barred from seeking another suit against Phormio after his earlier case failed to achieve a minimum number of votes. While it might seem counter-intuitive for Apollodoros to attack his mother Archippê, he does not owe his citizenship to her. Thus, her foreign and servile status cannot be used against him, or so he seems to think. Instead, he attacks his mother both to harm Phormio and also, inevitably, to attack his younger brother who has refused to assist him in the vendetta against Phormio. He begins at 45.3–4 saying that Phormio married his mother while he, Apollodoros, was out of town, i.e., improperly, and hints at his mother's complicity in this illicit marriage (καὶ ἐτι πρὸς τούτοις τὴν μητέρα γήμαντος τὴν ἐμὴν ἀποδημοῦντος ἐμοῦ δημοσίᾳ τριηραρχοῦντος ὑμῖν—ὄν τρόπον δέ, οὐκ ἴσως καλὸν υἱεῖ περὶ μητρὸς ἀκριβῶς εἰπεῖν). Then at 45.27 he states that she was "corrupted" by Phormio (τοῦτο πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι δίκην ὣν διεφθάρκει, ἣν ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ καλὸν λέγειν, ὑμεῖς δ' ἴστε, κἂν ἐγὼ μὴ λέγω) into altering Pasion's will, even though he politely declines to name her here. As part of this corruption, he accuses his mother of destroying Pasion's original will and also other documents concerning money owed the bank. At 45.84, however, he accuses her of having an affair with Phormio while Pasion was still alive, of fathering Pasikles with Phormio, of passing him off as Pasion's son, and of thus being in cahoots with Phormio to defraud him of his inheritance for at least a

decade before Pasion's death. It is almost surprising at this point that he has not accused his mother and Phormio of murdering his father. Apollodoros' mother is dead when he slanders her in this way, but it is simply not typical to defame one's own mother to such an extent. What prejudices was Apollodoros hoping to arouse in his audience?

Apollodoros, ironically, uses Phormio's servile origins to attack him and repeatedly positions Phormio like a fox in the henhouse, who took advantage of his insider position at the bank and in the home of his master, and the favor granted him by Pasion to rob the family blind. But, as E. Cohen points out, the marriage of Archippê to Phormio was not unusual within the context of banking families and, indeed, was a legitimate practice.³⁷ Of course, the rhetorical theme stressed early in the speech that Phormio stole from his master and violated and corrupted a citizen household is undercut if Apollodoros' mother is also highlighted as servile and corrupt. And yet, this is ultimately the path Apollodoros takes and by the end of the speech, Apollodoros falls back on the most prevalent slanders metic women were subject to, the charge of sexual transgression—his mother, like other foreign women, was an adulterer and a liar whose bastard son was no brother of his (45.84).



Figure 4.2 Grave stele, Eirene of Byzantium. ca. 375–350 BCE. Piraeus Museum 3582.

The charges of sexual transgression that Apollodoros implicitly levels at his mother are double-edged. First, they call into question Pasikles' legitimacy and not just Phormio's position by calling him a *moichos*. Second, because Archippê holds that liminal space in Athenian law whereby her citizenship was only temporary, he also links her to the long-standing ideology attached to foreign/metic women of being sexual aggressors, tainted, and dangerous as a potential path through whom false citizens could enter the body

politic, specifically Pasikles, his brother, whose paternity he has just questioned. It is an ideology Aeschines also recalls with his “Scythian-born” slander of Kleoboulê. Under that rubric, one might consider Kleoboulê an Amazon-like figure with Demosthenes her bastard Hippolytus.³⁸ This narrative is, of course, also at play in the story Apollodoros provides for Neaira, where he goes so far as to make explicit that the sexuality of metic women like Neaira (and her presumed daughter) are a threat to the very fabric of Athenian society since they are stealing the husbands that citizen daughters would normally marry (59.112), a line reminiscent of Bakewell’s idea of an invasion by metic women as a reason for the passage of the Citizenship Law of 451 BCE.

Neaira is once again a prime example of how prejudices against metic women manifested in charges of sexual transgression and real life danger for the women and their families. Neaira, of course, is clearly a transgressive metic—she lived with and helped to raise the children of an Athenian citizen. It happens also that she had been a slave and had likely worked once as a prostitute. She embodies, therefore, the qualities condemned repeatedly as uncitizen-like and detrimental to the health of the city. It is not a coincidence that Apollodoros attempts to claim both that Phano was Neaira’s daughter and that Phano was also a prostitute (though he calls her an adulterer, thus perhaps accidentally conceding the validity of her marriage to a citizen). The amount of time Apollodoros spends arguing that Neaira had been a prostitute and had “behaved as if she were a *hetaira*” (59.24) and the emphasis he places on the fact that she was foreign is meant to prejudice the jury against her.³⁹ And ultimately, the reason why she is dangerous is because she is contagious:

νῦν μὲν γάρ, κἄν ἀπορηθῇ τις, ἱκανὴν προῖκ’ αὐτῇ ὁ νόμος συμβάλλεται, ἂν καὶ ὁπωστίουν μετρίαν ἢ φύσις ὅψιν ἀποδῇ: προπηλακισθέντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου ὅφ’ ὑμῶν ἀποφυγούσης ταύτης, καὶ ἀκύρου γενομένου, παντελῶς ἤδη ἡ μὲν τῶν πορνῶν ἐργασία ἥξει εἰς τὰς τῶν πολιτῶν θυγατέρας, δι’ ἀπορίαν ὅσαι ἂν μὴ δύνωνται ἐκδοθῆναι, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἐλευθέρων γυναικῶν ἀξίωμα εἰς τὰς ἑταίρας, ἂν ἄδειαν λάβωσι τοῦ ἐξεῖναι αὐταῖς παιδοποιεῖσθαι ὥς ἂν βοῦλονται καὶ τελετῶν καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ τιμῶν μετέχειν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. (59.113)⁴⁰

For now, if someone is poor, the law provides her a sufficient enough dowry if nature provides her even some measure of attractiveness. But drag the law through the mud by her acquittal and remove the law’s power and the labor of prostitutes will become absolutely the trade of citizen daughters who are too poor to marry. The position of the free woman will become that of the *hetaira*, if

hetairai are granted free reign to bear children where they will and if they are given a share in the sacred rites and honors of the city.

According to Apollodoros, if Neaira is allowed to remain free and if the children Apollodoros claims she bore are permitted to remain legitimate, then everyone will want to marry prostitutes and poor citizen women will not be able to find husbands and will themselves have to become prostitutes. This is ludicrous, but it underscores the type of prejudice metic women could arouse. It also once again requires us to examine just what a *hetaira* might be and why metic women are most frequently labeled as such since it is clearly a prejudicial term for Apollodoros, but cannot, without much scholarly inference and assumption, be explicitly understood as ‘prostitute.’ The behavior Apollodoros attaches to Neaira and the idea that they are for ‘pleasure’ (59.122) does not necessarily entail sex as commerce. Rather, from the perspective of Apollodoros and other citizen men who used the term, these women may have been available for their pleasure only because there would be no obligation to marry them and because they could take their pleasure, as the young man of Menander’s *Dyskolos* reminds us, because they will not be held accountable. For the women, the behaviors that put them in the path of these men may have been part of one survival strategy that substituted temporary relationships for the marriages they could not contract. The relationships may not have involved sex for pay, the definition of prostitution, but instead, the same types of financial and living support that a wife might receive, just without the dowry and the legal safeguards.

Survival Strategies—*Hetaireia* and *Pallakia* as Alternatives to Marriage

As discussed in the previous chapter, metic women have for many years fallen through the cracks in scholarship since their fluctuating status in Athens left them outside of discussions on the place of citizen wives in society. Otherwise, they have been treated under the penumbra of prostitutes, there being a general assumption that the foreign women we encounter in comedy and oratory especially were not respectable and must therefore have been one type of prostitute or

another. The tale Apollodoros created for Neaira of her life as a prostitute has been a major factor in this treatment. Neaira, even more so than Aspasia, has tilted the scholarly scales away from trying to understand these women as immigrants and freed slaves and towards viewing them through the same lens as the Athenian men who wrote of them did. But this does a disservice, I believe, to these women. First, it diminishes the violence that many of them experienced—there is no evidence that Neaira was a prostitute when she first came to Athens with Phrynion. Instead, she seems to have been the victim of a gang rape in his presence, treatment she was horrified by and clearly did not expect. Just because she attended parties with Phrynion does not mean that she was acting as a prostitute that he could pimp out to the party-goers; we assume this is the case because we assume we know what *hetaira* means. To turn Apollodoros' description of that event and other behaviors like attending the symposia into prostitution is basic victim-blaming and follows a well-known pattern—she was at parties, she was drinking, she must have wanted it, she is a whore. Unless Neaira was offering sex for pay to each individual (including Phrynion, presumably), she was not a prostitute, but a woman with no means and even fewer protections in law or otherwise who thought, perhaps, that she would be safe as Phrynion's 'girlfriend,' but was instead treated as a prostitute.

Second, it conflates with prostitution any form of relationship a woman might have with a man outside of kinship or marriage. Prostitution is venal sex, it is not any relationship a woman has other than dowered marriage. Again, a man might consider a woman a whore from his perspective because he believes he can have sexual relations with her without consequences, but this does not mean a woman was objectively or from her own perspective registered as and working as a prostitute. The terms 'courtesan,' with which we translate *hetaira*, and 'concubine,' with which we translate *pallakê*, are themselves both culturally contingent terms reflecting a lifestyle intimately connected to aristocratic culture in specific historical periods in modern Europe and do not really coincide with what the evidence from ancient Athens tells of the women to whom the Greek terms were applied. Rather, what we see are women who are without access to marriage either through lack of dowry and *kurios* or lack of citizen status who are seeking alternative arrangements to survive in a city that requires male representation for security. We should consider both *hetaireia* and *pallakia* not as forms of prostitution, then, but as relationships of varying length and security that metic (and some

citizen) women sought out when marriage was not possible.

Hetaireia has generally been understood as a type of prostitution with an elite clientele. For example, when Apollodoros attacks Neaira, he does so by saying that she acted “as if a *hetaira*, ” and makes it clear that a *hetaira* was a woman a man did not marry, but associated with for pleasure (59.122) and that part of this pleasure may have involved attending symposia with men (59.33). As discussed in the previous chapter, the term *hetaira* seems to have been used in the early fifth century to refer to women, who practiced certain behaviors like attending parties and going about with men to whom they were not married. Women like Eplnikê and Koisyra were, I suggested, representative of such women. This behavior is also supposed to indicate that Phano, Stephanos’ daughter, was not a citizen, because, in Apollodoros’ view, to behave in any manner outside of the strictly defined standards for wives is enough to identify descent; divorce in this instance shows that she is both a prostitute and the daughter of one. To be a *hetaira*, then, is associated with certain behaviors that were considered un-wifely, but it still may not have meant ‘to be a courtesan.’ Rather, I suggest that the common thread that binds the women known as *hetairai* together in our fourth-century sources is that they were all independent women without families. A woman who is referred to as a *hetaira* could very well have worked as a prostitute, but her status was not ‘prostitute.’ She was a woman who was her own *kuria* (*autê autês kuria*). The phrase appears both with reference to Neaira (59.46) and in reference to a citizen woman in a play by Antiphanes (Fr. 210).⁴¹

Between the long years of war after 431 BCE and the increase in freed slaves and immigrants in the city, the number of women who were without a *kurios* likely increased. Without the dowry and a male *kurios*, a woman could not be a *gunê enguêtê* (dowered wife).⁴² And a woman who was her own *kuria* with no other family network to protect her was extremely vulnerable in Athens, as the examples of Zobia, the unnamed nurse of Dem. 47, and the young Neaira demonstrate. For these women, a *prostates* could only do so much because he could not pursue lawsuits on behalf of the woman if she was harmed as a family member could. So, a *hetaira* in the fourth century, especially post-marriage ban, might be best considered as an independent woman, most frequently metic, but sometimes a citizen, whose relationships with men were not protected in law. A *hetaira* could have ‘boyfriends’ and she could be a ‘girlfriend’ only. Any money or gifts that changed hands did so simply as gifts instead of as

a form of payment for sex (unless the individual woman happened to work as a prostitute).⁴³ This is likely just as precarious as being a prostitute, but not, as it were, as exploitative if the woman was indeed granted the status of being her own *kuria*. The term used to describe women in this condition, while not a synonym for prostitute, could imply a lifestyle and status that most citizen men would not distinguish from prostitution. Violations of their person, however, could be prosecuted in theory even if it was extremely difficult to do so in practice, as Patterson has pointed out.⁴⁴ Needless to say, because of the ban on marriage between metic women and citizen men, independent metic women, women who were *autê autês kuria*, were essentially locked out and denied access to the one form of *aretê* that classical Athenian society granted women as wives and mothers. Inevitably, then, such women were open to accusations of prostitution and had little to no recourse against slanderers, and the prominence and number of such prejudices has led scholars often to mistake these women for prostitutes instead of fully engaging the precariousness of their existence. Similar treatment has been given to *pallakia*, another potential way metic women could mitigate their dangerous circumstances.

The term *pallakê* is almost always translated as ‘concubine’ and because the term is used for a handful of slaves in our sources, most scholars suggest it was a servile position that granted a woman less protection than marriage and less freedom than being independent.⁴⁵ In the cases, however, where slaves (and temple workers) are referred to as *pallakai* the term can most readily be understood not as concubine, but as handmaid or attendant.⁴⁶ When used of free metics the term does not seem to imply any type of servitude, but frequently a form of contractual relationship with legal protections.⁴⁷ This type of relationship may have served as a marriage alternative for metic women after they were banned from marrying citizens.

In Isaeus 3.39, the speaker says:

δοκεῖ ἂν ὑμῖν οὕτως ὀλιγόρως ἔχειν χρημάτων Νικόδημος, ὥστε, εἰ ἦν ἀληθές τὸ πρᾶγμα, οὐκ ἂν σφόδρα διακριβόσασθαι περὶ τῶν ἑαυτῷ συμφερόντων; ναὶ μὰ Δία, ὥς ἔγωγ’ οἶμαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ παλλακία διδόντες τὰς ἑαυτῶν πάντες πρότερον διομολογοῦνται περὶ τῶν δοθησομένων ταῖς παλλακαῖς.

Does it seem to you that Nikodemus is so little interested in money matters that, if this matter is true, he would not have paid excessive attention to the details where his own interests were concerned? By the gods, as I see it, even all those who are giving their female relatives into *pallakia* enter into agreements

Here it is very clear that there would have been some sort of legal contract involved in *pallakia*, although exactly what the terms are is unclear as is what the relationship between the man and the woman would be. In Dem. 23.53, the speaker cites an outdated law of Drakon in which the *pallakê*, like the wife, daughter, or sister—i.e. any free woman under the man's control— was protected under the adultery law. There is an additional stipulation, however, in that law that the *pallakê* must be “kept for producing freeborn⁴⁸ children.” Kapparis states that it is unlikely that at the time Dem. 23 was written (or Lysias 1, for that matter) that portions of the law were functional. Instead, the phrasing was a remnant, like the use of *δαίμαρ* for wife, of the original sixth-century context and need not apply centuries later.⁴⁹

It is also unclear why in the sixth century there was a need for an alternate to marriage since foreign women could marry citizens without restriction and it is possible that the earlier institution was geared towards relationships with slaves. A number of scholars believe that *pallakia* must have been an institution open to citizens as well as metics and was an undowered, but contractual, relationship that in years prior to the Citizenship Law could lead to the birth of legitimate, freeborn children.⁵⁰ Both Ogden and Kapparis, however, disagree that citizens could ever be *pallakai* and suggest that it was always an arrangement between a metic (or foreign) woman and a citizen man.⁵¹ It is possible that undowered citizen women might find themselves in the same situation as a metic woman when it comes to marriage with citizens, though there is no evidence, as there is with the term *hetaira*, that it was used to refer to citizen women. Primarily, however, *pallakia* seems to have been a contractual relationship between a citizen and a metic that carried with it some protections for the woman's rights and in which children might be an expected outcome.⁵² We could further understand the revival of the Archaic law in the orators with reference to adultery laws if we posit that, despite the fact that the children would not be citizens, they could inherit on the maternal side if the metic mother had family.

There is further evidence that the term *pallakê* was used to denote a relationship envisioned in both Dem. 23 and Lysias 1 between a citizen and metic. SEG 13:189, a grave *stele* dated to the early mid-fourth century, reads:

[Ομό]νοια Διογνήτο[υ]
[παλλ]ακῆς, Ἑρμοκρ[άτου]
[θυ]γάτηρ.

[Hom]onoia, [pall]akis of Diognet[os], [dau]ghter of Hermocr[ates]

The stone is severely damaged and the restoration of the ακ in line 2 is difficult to see (it is not restored in *IG* II² 11152 despite being published as clearly visible in *SEG*). It may even be that the stone has been further damaged since its earlier publication given that the initial υ in line 1 is attested in both the *SEG* and *IG* publications, but was not visible when I examined the stone. But, even without the α clearly visible in line 2, the range of possible words that can fit in that position on the stone and in the typical formulae used on grave *stelae* to mark the relationship between Homonoia and Diognetos that ends in κῆς is limited to one— *pallakis*, the alternate spelling of *pallakê*.⁵³

If the restoration is correct, this is a rather startling inscription for those who consider the *pallakê* as servile. In fact, I have not found any indication that scholars who have discussed *pallakis* are aware of the inscription. The name Homonoia is only attested as a metic name, though her father's name, Hermokrates, is attested as both citizen and metic.⁵⁴ The husband's name is also attested as both, but all attestations as a metic name (five of the total sixty-eight attestations) are from the second century BCE or later. According to Vestergaard et al., this particular formula where both the husband and the father are listed is more common of metics than citizens. The specification of [θυ]γάτηρ is also something less common with citizen women where the indicator of the filial relationship would have been eliminated and *gunê* used instead. The reasoning according to Vestergaard was that the filial relationship was the one that denoted the woman's status most clearly and was therefore the 'given.' If she was the *gunê* of a citizen, it could safely be assumed that she was the daughter of a citizen as well. Here, however, *pallakis* replaces *gunê* and we see both her filial and marital relationships noted. It is also most frequent in Attic gravestones that the father's name is listed first before the husband's.⁵⁵ This inscription does the opposite, which suggests perhaps a privileging of the *pallakia* relationship over the filial. Although there is no demotic listed for the husband,⁵⁶ I would suggest that his name and her relationship to him is privileged in the inscription because he is a citizen while the father is not. Thus *SEG*

13:189 suggests that being a *pallakis* was not shameful, nor servile, but much like being a *gunê* (even if, as Lysias comments, a *pallakê* was “worth less” than a *gunê*). It may also suggest that this was the case specifically for relationships between a metic woman and a citizen man. In other words, it suggests *pallakia* as domestic partnership and a viable alternative for the metic woman who could no longer formally marry a citizen man.⁵⁷ And it is this type of respectable relationship, a type of domestic partnership, that Apollodoros appears to reject for Neaira (59.118) by trying to make her seem like a *hetaira* (and therefore more like a party girl interested in casual sexual relationships than a wife).⁵⁸ But this is precisely the relationship he suspects Stephanos will claim they have. The fact that she is accused of pretending to be a citizen wife suggests that the difference between a wife and a *pallakê* was one of citizenship less than of behavior and role in the household. For a metic woman like Neaira, being a *pallakê* seems to have provided her with decades of security of the sort that might not have been possible for her otherwise.

Conclusion

The status of metic women in the fourth century in Athens, especially after the ban on marriage was enacted, could be rather precarious and for the independent metic or poor metic woman who could not enter into marriages, it could be absolutely dangerous with the continual threat present of unscrupulous citizens mistreating them because they had little to no legal recourse. The prejudices that Athenian society seems to have harbored against unmarried woman and also against foreigners in the fourth century intertwined for ultimate impact against metic women who became easy targets for charges of sexual promiscuity or prostitution. They were even seemingly targeted for rape and other forms of violence. While the ideology held that they were the sexual deviants and aggressors, like Phaedra and the Amazons, they were more frequently the victims of violence at the hands of citizen men looking to make a profit or who knew they could act without repercussions. However, it was not only the intersection of ideologies of gender and foreignness that made metic women such open targets. Metic women who were independent or from non-wealthy metic families were more likely to work in Athens than

citizen women were, making them vulnerable to a third type of prejudice functional in classical Athens, that against manual labor (a clear type of classism). Metic women were a vital part of the Athenian economy, as I demonstrate in the next chapter. But the importance of their role to the smooth running of the economy and society did not make them any less subject to prejudices. Instead, working made it more likely for them to be slandered and even accused of crimes and dragged into the courts, with slavery or death as potential outcomes.

Notes

1. Kapparis (1999) 193.
2. This is one instance where we know the outcome of the case and can deduce that the jurors found the arguments against both Kallipê's existence and her sons' legitimacy unbelievable. *IG* II 1177.11 records the name of the claimant Chaerestratus as "son of Phanostratus." If he had won the case (by proving that Kallipê was not real), he would have been buried as "son of Philoktemon" (Thompson (1970) 2).
3. On the role of witnesses in proving citizen identity, see Scafuro (1994).
4. I will refer to New Comedy where needed, but it is not the focus of the chapter nor do I find the type of stock character and situational comedy of New Comedy an appropriate source for understanding what is typical or usual about the lives of metic women. Rather, we should look to comedy for examples of unethical behaviors and responses to them.
5. I follow Mogens Hansen and others in accepting it as a fourth-century courtroom speech.
6. On the rhetorical strategy of the attacks on Aristogeiton, see Rosenbloom (2003).
7. The speaker provides as witnesses of Aristogeiton's action against his sister the arbitrator and the indictment; καὶ τὸν τῆς δίκης διαιτητὴν, ἣν ὑπὲρ τῆς πράσεως τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἔλαχεν αὐτῷ οὐτοσί, καὶ τὸ ἔγκλημα φέρε (25.55).
8. Sealey (1960) argues that we should identify Aristogeiton with one Aristogeiton of Aphidnae on *IG* II 2 6569, which would make both his father and mother citizens and all descended from the tyrannicide. *APF* 476 disagrees and points to the speeches against Aristogeiton as "very strong negative evidence" of a connection as well as the almost intractable prosopographical problems such a connection would cause. The name Aristogeiton is not rare or exclusive to the deme of Aphidnae and is even attested for a Naxian (*IG* II 2 9981).
9. Although the text says she was prosecuted for *apostasiou*, the text must be corrected to *aprostasiou* since the penalty for the latter was sale into slavery by the *polîtês*, while for the former it was a return to enslavement with one's original master. See Meyer (2010) 31 n.77. MacDowell (1978) 82 also

emends the text to read *aprostasiou*.

10. Presumably, his brother's case against Aristogeiton argued that she had a *prostates*, was registered, and had paid her tax. The question remains whether, given her status as half-sister to citizens, she was regarded as an independent metic or whether one of her brothers acted as her *kurios* and *prostates*. These are the types of legal questions our evidence cannot answer.
11. E. Cohen (1992) 76–81. M. Osborne (1983) 150 notes that while a citizenship grant was extended to children and descendants of one so honored, it was not extended to his wife. See also Carey (1991) and Whitehead (1986).
12. E. Cohen (1992) 77.
13. There are thirty-three inscriptions that are combined together to make up the *phialai* inscriptions. See Meyer (2010) 11 n.2–3 for the full list as well as photos (listed on 145–146). The texts are re-edited and produced by Meyer on 81–144. Papazarkadas (2012) 554 points out that there are now thirty-four with the forthcoming re-publication of one generally overlooked fragment.
14. The profession is not included in all of the inscriptions. The majority of the inscriptions leave it out. Meyer has counted 160 total designations of a profession among the 413 entries. See Meyer (2010) 15 n.19 for the counts by other scholars.
15. Meyer (2010) 59–69; Papazarkadas (2012) 554.
16. I say especially vulnerable, but the *phialai* inscriptions record entire families as plaintiffs. Individual children, too, appear as plaintiffs. This raises the question of what the age limit was for a metic to be liable for the tax on his or her own. If a child came to Athens alone seeking work or lost parents through war or disease or was a manumitted slave, would that child be required to register and pay the tax as well, or at least would the tax need to be paid by those of a certain age? Such a requirement would make sense of the individual children who appear in the *phialai* inscriptions and answer one of Vlassopoulos' primary critiques of Meyer's thesis.
17. Meyer's arguments concerning the inscriptions are that they represent dedications of a one-tenth tithe as a thank offering to Athena (or Zeus Eleuthe-rios) for successfully defending against a prosecution for *aprostasiou*; the penalty for losing was a 1,000-drachma fine and sale into slavery. Meyer suggests that the tithe was paid by the unsuccessful prosecutor in the case. See 43 n.119 for further examples of tithing in Athenian law. She suggests further that the tithe was intended as a deterrent (48–52).
18. The number of tombs dedicated to nurses by the children they raised suggests that nurses, even once freed, were held in affection by their former charges. See Chapter 5, this volume, for further discussion.
19. See Fisher (1998) and Llewellyn-Jones (2011) on violence against women.
20. See Patterson (2000) on metic legal protections. She sums up her arguments as follows, "In brief, I argue that whatever might have been his or her experience in prior formal or informal procedures of arbitrations, the metic in court, facing the assembled *andres Athenaioi*, was a peculiarly isolated and vulnerable figure. . . . This isolation, I suggest, jeopardized the exercise of

legal privilege and fostered the creation of a *topos* of the rootless metic whose loyalty and services might be held up to rebuke the wayward citizen, but whose crimes clearly revealed the dangers of the ‘*xenos* within’ ” (94). She also emphasizes that while being an independent woman might have its benefits for metic women in some ways, in court such independence and isolation was not a good thing. She specifically addresses the old nurse of Dem. 47 at 100–101.

21. Omitowaju (1997) 9–11 understands 59.37 as Apollodoros representing Neaira’s own view of the event but does not himself consider it *hubris*.
22. Based on Harpokration’s definition of *dikê apostasiou* which states that the procedure was conducted against a freed person who switched *prostates* without the consent of the former owner and who, prior to winning the case, was not fully free. For this view of manumission, see Tod (1901–1902) 200 and Kamen (2013) 32–45. See also, Zelnick-Abramovitz (2005) 273–306. Zelnick-Abramovitz cites Dem. 35.47–49 as providing information on the *dikê apostasiou*, but there is no reference or even any hint in that case that there was some residual obligation that a slave had to a former master.
23. This is the position of Zelnick-Abramowitz (2005) 221. Meyer (2010) 25 n.61 disagrees.
24. Patterson (2000) 102–103 seems to take it at face value that this was the judgment of the arbitrator and does not seem to see anything particularly odd about the situation as presented by Apollodoros. She does not, however, assume that Neaira (or Zobia) is a prostitute as many other scholars do, but views her dire situation (“a position of neither respect nor security”) as a function of metic isolation. Kapparis (1999) 261 explains the situation as “not . . . exceptional” because it was common, he said, for men to pool money to share a courtesan and the only complication here was that Stephanos and Neaira had an emotional bond that Phrynion interfered with. Unfortunately, both of the examples he cites involve slaves and Neaira has just been named her own *kuria* and was free. Even for a foreign woman, her free status would have made such an arrangement questionable and Phrynion’s *hubris* against her illegal (though hard to prosecute). The emphasis seems to be to undermine Stephanos’ potential claims to *pallakia*, which would have granted Neaira legal protections from just this sort of arrangement and given Stephanos the right to prosecute on her behalf.
25. The ability to call witnesses to something does not, of course, make it true.
26. See Kapparis (1999) on the failure to prove the most important charge, that Phano was Neaira’s daughter. Noy (2009) takes Apollodoros at his word concerning Phano and suggests that it really was a case of identity theft. He makes no attempt to critically assess Apollodoros’ charges. On Apollodoros’ status anxiety, see Lape (2010) 216–220.
27. Whitehead (1977) 116 notes that “servile origin offered splendid opportunities for forensic scorn.” He then provides a long list of such moments. Neaira should be included.
28. Agora I 3174 (Fig. 4.1). Demetria’s tomb is broken and only her head and shoulders remain. It may be that she is seated on a chair, a standard image

for women on tombs. She may, however, have been represented wool working.

29. We might think here of Dem 57.18 where Eubilides is said to have used Euxitheus' father's accent as proof that he was not a citizen.
30. For example, Xen. *Vec.* 2.3. See D. Lewis (2011) for a discussion of the evidence on Near Eastern slaves in classical Attica.
31. Aristotle's theory of natural slavery is most clearly articulated at *Politics* 1252b and 1254a–1255a. The idea that foreigners are by their nature slavish is also found expressed in the Hippocratic *Airs, Waters, Places* 34 from the third quarter of the fifth century. See also Her. 9.122, Xenophon *Agésilaios* 1.27–28, Aristotle *Politics* 1327b. Perhaps Apollodoros, versed in this very prevalent idea about foreignness among the Greeks, saw himself as more appropriately Athenian because he was both born in Athens instead of elsewhere and because he was born free.
32. At 2.77–78, Aeschines recounts how his own father went into exile under the Thirty as a mark of his family's devotion to Athens as opposed to the “Scythian-born” Demosthenes. At 2.177, he talks about illegally registered citizens who are war-mongers, but do not fight for the city, but instead bear children with *hetairai*, slander others, and endanger the city. Surely, he is here referring indirectly to Demosthenes.
33. Demosthenes refers to this situation numerous times, such as at 27.15–17, 27.56, 28.11, 28.16, and 28.19, and sought to have the dowry returned along with his inheritance.
34. Demosthenes' father, Demosthenes, was born in the 420s. He married Kleobulê, daughter of one Gylon. Kleoboulê's mother was from Kepoi in the Bosporos, a Milesian colony (*APF* 122). Although Aeschines calls her a “Scythian,” she could have been Greek.
35. Though, interestingly, the iconography of the Scythians, at least in what seem to be public tombs (Nat. Arch. 823 and 824), shows them as quite dignified.
36. Not, it seems, the same Stephanos as he attacks in *Against Neaira*.
37. E. Cohen (1992) 76–77. In 36.28–29, *For Phormio*, a number of further examples are given of bankers willing their wives (and daughters) to freed slaves and at 36.30–31 the speaker defends Pasion from a charge of hubris—marrying his wife to Phormio—because it is both reasonable for a freedman to do and also in the best interest of the bank.
38. Aeschines attacks Demosthenes for improper, abnormal sexual relations at Aeschines 3.162 (*Against Ktesiphon*) and 2.148–150, 2.162–165 (On the Embassy) much as Hippolytus was both considered sexually inappropriate for his abstinence from sex with women (Demosthenes only married once and only ever had a daughter, as Aeschines remarks somewhat sarcastically at 3.77) and was accused by Theseus of other deviances.
39. Kapparis (1999) 41.
40. The ‘dowry’ Apollodoros refers to here is supposedly only the advantage the law gives even poor and unattractive citizens by banning marriage with

foreign women. It is not an actual monetary donation by the city to use as a dowry (Kapparis (1999) 407).

41. In addition, in Menander's *Perikromene*, Glykera, who is discovered to be a citizen by the end of the play, is also said to be her own *kuria* by Pataikos (who turns out to be her father). He says this by way of explaining to the Corinthian soldier whom she leaves that he has no legal rights over her and will have to use persuasion to win her back. The one appearance of the word *hetaira* in the play is when she dismisses the idea of allowing her twin brother (who does not know they are siblings) to "have her as a *hetaira* " (711). I would translate the term here as 'girlfriend.'
42. It seems, however, that a *hetaira* could be given a dowry and have a man act as her *kurios*, as Apollodoros is said to do in Dem 36.45 (τὴν δ' ἐκδέδωκας ἑταίραν, καὶ ταῦτα γυναικ' ἔχων ποιεῖς). The mother of Philê in Isaeus 3 is referred to as a *hetaira*, and it seems to mean something more akin to "mistress." She is a citizen woman, it seems, since she has a brother who is a citizen and a daughter who is married to a citizen. The distinction made between *hetaira* and wife there is between dowered and without dowry.
43. New Comedy is often considered a source for understanding *hetaira* as prostitute. The evidence is not clear. In *Samia*, Chrysis is referred to as a *hetaira* and lives with Demeas. They do not form any sort of legal or contractual union and he has no desire for children (legitimate or otherwise), nor does he consider her entrance into his house a change in her status as a *hetaira*. When Demeas believes she has borne him a child, he refers to her as a married *hetaira* (γαμετὴν ἑταίραν), something he did not want and would result from her having his child (130–132). When it turns out that the child is not his, but his son's (with a different woman) his neighbor, Nikeratos, suggests that the child was born of adultery (506–509). The implication is that the relationship between Demeas and Chrysis is expected to be exclusive though it is not marriage, hardly the sign that she was, despite being called a *hetaira*, a prostitute. In other plays by Menander, the term *pornê* is used, not *hetaira*, to refer to prostitutes, as in the *Epitrepontes*.
44. Patterson (2000).
45. See Patterson (1991) for the clearest articulation of this view. Henry (1995) also suggests that being a *pallakê* was worse than being an independent metic. Hartmann (2002) 224–227 suggests that *pallakai* were freed slaves who were a good alternative to remarriage for widowers. They provided him housekeeping and a sexual partner without the fuss of a new wife.
46. As in Antiphon 1, [Dem.] 59.122, and a number of inscriptions from the Roman period. See Budin (2003) for a discussion of the Roman-era inscriptions and the non-sexual use of the term in [Dem.] 59. Mossé (1991) 277 also suggests such a usage when he argues that the term derived from Homeric precedent in which women called *pallakai* primarily tended to their owners' personal grooming. See Chapter 5, this volume, for further discussion on non-sexual interpretations of *pallakia*.
47. A number of scholars treat the term *pallakê* as a synonym for *hetaira*, except that the *pallakê* could have legitimate children with the person with whom

she lived based primarily on mentions of *pallakia* at Isaeus 3.39, Dem. 23.53, and Lysias 1.31; see Ogden (1996) 157; Miner (2003), and McClure (2003) 18–21. McClure, in fact, treats it as a synonym for prostitute in Appendix IV, while Ogden calls the distinction made in Dem. 57.122 “specious” and understands a *pallakis* as a subcategory of *hetaira*. McClure also states that Athenian concubinage was an Asian practice borrowed in imitations of the Persian harem. There is no ancient evidence to support this claim. In two curse tablets, *IG* III App. 68 (fourth century BCE) and Kerameikos III C 3.21–38 (fifth century BCE), a distinction is made between women called *pallakai* and *hetairai* suggesting strongly that the two terms were not interchangeable and that they were viewed as two different statuses or titles.

48. A stipulation that makes sense if the *pallakê* was a slave, but the term is frequently translated as ‘legitimate.’
49. Kapparis (1999) 11 and (1995) 109–110. Lape (2002) 125–126 comments that Solon’s privileging of legitimacy over free status for Athenian citizenship essentially made the *pallakê* of Drakon’s law obsolete. See also Lape (2010) 13–14.
50. Sealey (1984) 111–133 is the strongest proponent of this understanding of *pallakia*. He is followed by Just (1989) 52–54 and Mossé (1991) 273–279. Patterson (1991) thinks it is possible, but very rare for citizen women to be *pallakai*. Ogden (1996) 158–160 dismisses the notion of citizen *pallakai* and sees the only exception being Xanthippe, who is traditionally viewed as the wife of Socrates. Ogden, however, mistakenly follows the view that bigamy was permitted during the Peloponnesian War years following the plague and Sicilian disaster (he places Plangon and Mantias’ relationship from Dem. 39 and 40 in this same period).
51. Indeed, Ogden (1996) 157 even goes so far as to state the children born of a *pallakis*, far from the “free” children envisioned by Drakon’s law, would likely be exposed as *nothoi* in the classical period.
52. In Menander’s *Samia*, Nikeratos, the neighbor of Demeas, refers to Chrysis as a *pallakê* when he tells Demeas he should treat his son as an adulterer (506–509). Demeas, however, does not consider their relationship so formal and makes it clear that children were never an objective or desired. It is also made clear that Chrysis is free, not servile (575–577), but without anywhere else to go.
53. The other word with this ending that appears in Attic inscriptions is *pollakis*, which is clearly inappropriate here.
54. In the *Onomastikon*, Byrne lists this particular instance of the name Homonoia as uncertain, although it would be the only citizen attestation if one read it that way. The possibility that she was a *pallakê* increases the likelihood that she was a metic.
55. Vestergaard, Hansen, and Bjertrup (1985).
56. Something not uncommon in a grave *stele* for a wife and not the man himself.
57. It also undermines the idea that *pallakia* was not a respectable option for a metic woman and the equivalent of prostitution (much like being a nurse,

many of whom are commemorated on grave *stelai*).

58. Whereas he acknowledges that Stephanos will claim she is a *pallakê*, Apollodoros states as fact that her children have been registered as citizens, proving he kept her as a wife. He never proves that the children are hers. In fact, he hardly addresses the issue of the sons at all.

5 Working Women, Not 'Working Girls'

This chapter addresses metic labor. Despite the restrictions on metic women in relationships with citizens and their legal vulnerabilities, many metic women still needed to venture out among the citizen population to earn a living. At issue, however, have been the prejudices that they labored under (and continue to labor under) because of this need. The first was a general prejudice in our sources against working for pay. On the one hand, many women—citizen, metic, and slave—needed to work outside of the home or for pay. We find, however, that this labor is often deemed unfit for citizens, making labor a sign of servile or foreign status in the city. The other prejudice, the one that still stalks metic women in the scholarship, is that the varieties and reality of their labor are often ignored under the assumption that the majority of metic women of whom we have knowledge worked as prostitutes. I begin with an overview of Athenian attitudes towards work for pay and then explore the various types of labor metic women performed moving from the *agora*, to the homes of citizens, to temples, and, finally, the school room.

Prejudice and Women's Labor

Some Athenians did not value work for pay. Negative stereotypes and criticisms followed individuals who labored for money.¹ In particular, women who performed labor outside of the home seem to have been subject to ridicule, including charges of not being a citizen. This stereotype—that citizen women did not labor for pay—was both potent and false, as Euxitheus reminds his audience while defending his citizenship status against Eubilides. During the Peloponnesian War, his mother sold ribbons at the markets in the *agora* and served as a nurse for a citizen family. Euxitheus cites a law against using work as a reproach against citizens, but still his opponent attempts to use his mother's labor as the greatest proof of her foreignness. Euxitheus tells us that his mother worked because she needed to feed her son after his father had been captured in war. This labor was later used by his

enemies to prove that she was a metic (Dem 57.30–33).² Although it is unlikely that women's labor was restricted to metics and slaves, there is still a persistent prejudice in our elite sources against working for pay that seems to associate labor with non-citizens. Women's labor in Athens took many forms and women who did work both in the home and outside made important contributions to the Athenian economy.³ Certain forms of labor, like being a nurse or selling wares in the markets, however, could be considered beneath the citizen woman. This stereotype remains despite the ample attestation that citizen women also performed these tasks. Other types of labor such as midwifery and wool working were done not only by metics and slaves, but by citizen women, although it seems that citizen women were less likely to make textiles or act as a healer/midwife outside of the *oikos*. And, in the bustling *agora*, it would be difficult to determine the citizen status of a woman selling honeycombs or perfume.⁴

It has long been an assumption that prostitution was the dominant profession among metics in classical Athens. Indeed, the opportunity for whoring has often been seen as a major attraction for immigrant women. This idea stems ultimately, I believe, from elite biases against labor (both in antiquity and the modern era), especially wage-earning labor, biases that assimilate any public work for money by women with prostitution. Ancient prejudices gave rise, no doubt, to modern assumptions about realities. A different story, however, emerges from the number and variety of women's professions recorded on inscriptions and in literary sources. These sources show metic women, both immigrants and freed slaves, contributing to the economy and fabric of the city in ways apart from sexual labor. Some of these women worked as market vendors, wool workers or seamstresses, others as nurses or nannies. Also appearing are metic women as musicians, midwives, healers/doctors, priestesses, and possibly even sophists.

Because metic women frequently performed manual labor they were open to slanders by elites. The phrase ἐργαζόμενος/ῆ τῷ σώματι is used often in reference to their labor, a phrase scholars often assume refers specifically to prostitution.⁵ Apollodoros makes it explicit that he is referring to prostitution when he first uses the phrase by adding additional information: ἡργάζετο τῷ σώματι μισθοαρνοῦσα τοῖς βουλομένοις αὐτῇ πλεσιτάζειν. “Neaira worked with her body (ἡργάζετο τῷ σώματι) by hiring herself out to anyone who wanted to have sex with her” (59.20.5). In this one usage, Apollodoros makes clear that he is using the term to refer to venal sex. And yet, the

phrase ἐργαζόμενος/ῃ τῷ σώματι alone does not unambiguously refer to prostitution (which may be why Apollodoros felt the need to be explicit in his initial use of the phrase). It can relate to other forms of manual labor, such as it does in Dem. 42.20, when the speaker offers to give over to his opponent his mines, which he had worked *with his own body* to much profit in the past (πρότερον αὐτὸς τῷ ἑαυτοῦ σώματι πονῶν καὶ ἐργαζόμενος συνελεξάμην).⁶ The phrase is even used in Lysias 25 by the speaker to refer to service done to the state (πολλὰ δὲ κάγαθὰ εἰργασμένος τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῷ σώματι καὶ τοῖς χρήμασι, 25.4.4). The implication is that military service was also ἐργαζόμενος/ῃ τῷ σώματι and some of that service was paid, of course.⁷ There are thus many types of labor done with the body. For women in particular, one might classify under the heading of ‘labor with one’s body’ wool working, midwifing or caretaking, nursing, and even fetching water.⁸

The distinction between respectable and not respectable physical labor depends upon whether it was for hire. For a citizen wife from a moderately well off or well-to-do household, the expectation was that she would do weaving for the household, tend to the ailments and physical well-being of both free and slave members of the household, and, in many cases, nurse her own children (or purchase/hire someone else to do it for her). To do these things for pay outside the home was to act outside of the proper realm for female *aretê*. That someone might be driven to it by poverty, as Euxitheus’ mother was, would not matter to the elite male citizen since clearly Eubilides felt no sympathy for the position Euxitheus’ family found itself in and hoped that his jurors’ similar prejudices would outweigh their sympathy for Euxitheus. Apollodoros’ behavior supports this view. Although he was the son of an enfranchised former slave, he himself was freeborn and his father was extremely wealthy. As noted in the previous chapter, his attempts to paint his stepfather Phormio as a disreputable figure reveal his status anxiety because of the nature of his own claims to citizenship. His attack on Neaira reveals similar status anxiety. Apollodoros’ extended reference to the grant of citizenship to the Plataians makes his anxiety clear (59.104–107). Determined to paint Neaira in the worst light, Apollodoros began by showing how she earned her living by wage labor (μισθοαρνοῦσα). Aeschines used the same verb to refer to Timarchos’ supposed activities, activities that could have led to the loss of his citizenship rights.⁹ But Apollodoros drops the explicit sexual language in the rest of his attack on Neaira, allowing the innuendo to color the more

ambiguous language of physical labor. This usage shows that the core of the prejudice stems from wage labor. Neaira was once a ‘working girl,’ Apollodoros claims, and so even if she had settled down with Stephanos long ago, having worked for others for pay was incompatible with citizenship.¹⁰

The lurid and influential picture painted by Apollodoros makes it far too tempting to equate physical labor with prostitution in no small part because of the prejudices against physical labor in general and, more specifically, against paid labor for women. In the elite discourses that comprise most of the literary sources, a woman who must work is assumed either not to be a citizen or unworthy of citizenship. Adopting elite prejudices against labor as servile, as in the case of nurses, leads scholars to dismiss or ignore evidence that makes it absolutely clear that metic women of higher status also worked as nurses. When we recognize and guard against the prejudices against metic women, prejudices that specifically targeted them because they were foreign women, and working for pay, a broader and more accurate picture emerges of the types of labor they performed and how they contributed to the larger economy and social fabric of Athens. In each of the sections that follows, I examine material and literary evidence for different types of metic labor in Athens under the assumption that the women who are marked by these professions indeed worked at these professions, rather than assuming it was all elaborate code for prostitution. These women took some pride in their professions and were even, at times, held in esteem by others for their work, otherwise they and those who commemorated them would not have made a point of indicating their professions on their tombs. I also examine some women who have traditionally been understood to be prostitutes or as otherwise unworthy of access to citizens. I argue that if we remove the layers of prejudice obscuring their lives, we see that they were more likely women who earned income through performance, teaching, medicine, or administering foreign cults.

In the Markets: Musicians, Wool Workers, and Sellers of Various Wares

While some considered it inappropriate for a citizen woman to sell goods in the *agora* (as Euxitheus discovered), many metic women did

so according to ancient literary and epigraphical evidence. The *phialai* inscriptions are a rich source of information on professions of metic women. The inscriptions, whether one assumes they are related to manumission or cases of *apostasiou* or *aprostasiou*,¹¹ refer to individuals who were already metics or became metics at the time of the original inscribing. Meyer counts 413 total identifiable entries in the inscriptions. Of these, a minimum of 116 are women. She further counts 160 individuals listed with professions. Of those sixty-four are women.¹² There are fifty-one listed as *talasiourgoi* (woolworkers).¹³ There are also two or three *kapêlides* (tavern-keepers),¹⁴ one *aulêtris* (pipe player),¹⁵ one *kitharôidos* (harp player),¹⁶ two *tithai* (nurses),¹⁷ two *sêsamopôlides* (sesame-sellers),¹⁸ one *melitopôlis* (honey-seller),¹⁹ one *murpôlis* (perfume-seller),²⁰ one *akestria* (seamstress),²¹ one *libanôtôpôlis* (seller of frankincense),²² and one *skutotomê* (shoemaker).²³ With the exception of nurses and weavers, all of the occupations listed for these women would have been performed in the markets either in Athens or, frequently in the case of particular women in this group, in Piraeus. Of the occupations listed here, all except *aulêtris*, *talasiourgos*, and *tithe* are listed for both men and women in inscriptions. The female *melitopôlis* is listed directly below a man with the same occupation, who seems to have been her husband.²⁴ The same situation applies to one of the *sêsamopôlides* (IG II² 1561 1. 27). Cases such as these illustrate that the occupations were likely family enterprises.

The number of women whom our ancient sources place in the markets as sellers of goods and services suggests that it was not uncommon. Some women appear to have worked side by side with others, presumably their spouses.²⁵ Such family enterprises are unlikely to be secret prostitution rings. The occupations listed are not the only work metic women did in the markets because there are numerous other activities women did more generally (such as garland-selling and bread-selling) that do not appear in the *phialai* inscriptions.²⁶ These, however, are the marketplace professions that we have definitive evidence that metic women performed. As Brock and others have noted, occupations that involved selling goods in the markets did carry a negative stigma, particularly in oratory and comedy, but this does not mean that such labor was not widely done or that the women were more broadly considered not respectable because they performed it.²⁷ Certain elites perhaps had negative attitudes towards women working, but women who worked side by side with their families were likely evaluated differently by their own class and neighbors, and

skilled female laborers in certain fields were a necessity.

While modern scholars recognize that women working in the markets and selling their labor was common and acceptable, they have frequently adopted the Athenian elite prejudices when it comes to three professions most frequently associated with metic women in inscriptions—female musicians (*aulêtris* and *kitharôidos*), the *kapêlis*, and the *talasiourgos*. Each of these professions has been associated with prostitution by scholars; the individuals so marked either assumed to be prostitutes or to be pimping them. A primary reason for this association may be because women who inhabited these professions are assumed to have been slaves and slaves by their nature could be prostituted. In the case of the tavern-keepers, taverns were represented in our elite sources as “the very embodiment of disorderly and dishonest low-life in the city” so that the women who worked there must have also been disreputable.²⁸ But despite what elite members of any society might think, the workers and individuals who would frequent taverns had a less disdainful view of themselves and their work. The women in the *phialai* inscriptions and elsewhere who self-identify or are identified with these forms of labor are often free metics, which means we cannot assume sexual availability and need to reconsider the boundary between these professions and sexual labor.

The *aulêtris* is the professional most frequently associated with prostitution, some scholars going so far as to suggest that the word was a synonym for *pornê*.²⁹ Their strong association with the symposium and the long tradition of identifying all women who attend or perform at symposia with prostitutes has led to this identification. As Max Goldman has demonstrated, however, the evidence that female pipers were *de facto* prostitutes is far from secure and there were a number of contexts in which the labor of the *aulêtris* was clearly not sexual, such as women-only festivals and weddings.³⁰ Although such statements equating the female *kithara* -player with prostitution are not common, they, too, are considered low status and a form of labor related to prostitution.³¹ The connection between female musicians and prostitution is often based, it seems, on the view that these women were slave laborers and, as such, always subject to prostitution by their owners. But the *phialai* inscriptions list two female musicians who are not slaves, but metics. Whether these women were prostituted when they were slaves (if they were slaves at all) is irrelevant to their occupations once they were freed. They considered themselves musicians by trade and it was quite possible for them to earn a living as such. If we take the statement in Aristotle on

the regulation of luxury goods and services as a baseline for what a free female musician could expect to be hired for, we see that a skilled player would be well situated to earn a decent living. Aristotle says that the maximum fee per hire was set at two drachma (*Ath. Pol.* 50.2) for both the *aulêtris* and the *kitharôidos*.³² To put this pay rate in perspective, at a rate of two drachma, a performer would need only to be hired three times in order to pay her *metoikion*. Four performances would earn her the sum Zobia supposedly had on hand to lend to Aristogeiton (Dem. 25). Eight drachma is the equivalent of forty-eight obols, the equivalent of wages for a *dikast* (judge) for sixteen days or an *ekklesiasts* (assemblyman) for eight days or for eight days construction work on the Erechtheion (paid at a slightly higher rate than normal construction) or four to five days as skilled labor at Eleusis (paid to slaves, metics, and citizens alike), or making two to three pair of shoes. In terms of prostitution, eight drachma is about what a *pornê* would supposedly make for sixteen encounters, while Loomis estimates it at the equivalent of only two nights with a high-class prostitute like Lais no longer in her prime (according to Epikrates Fr. 3.10–19). It would also be the equivalent of approximately eight meals cooked at feasts by a middle-of-the-road cook.³³ The original *phialai* in which these women inscribed their dedications was worth 100 drachma. That would be fifty days of work.³⁴

It is entirely reasonable that skilled female musicians could have lived in the city and earned a decent living. And if, as Harmon suggests, slave owners could rent their slave entertainers out for much higher rates than the two-drachma rate,³⁵ then these free players, fewer in number than slave performers, perhaps, could compete more easily for hire if they were highly skilled. More important, the two-drachma rate per performance far exceeds the rate they could expect to get as run-of-the-mill prostitutes of the type scholars normally assume them to be. Further, it is entirely unclear whether the limits on the amounts women could make contracts for only applied to contracts they could make without the permission of a *kurios* or if a woman's *kurios* could contract for higher sums.³⁶ It is possible these rates only applied to independent musicians.

How these women were hired, however, and the absence of the protections offered by being the property of citizens could be some reasons why they were considered of low status and also subject to slanders. A cup from the British Museum shows men out to purchase goods and services necessary for a symposium (Fig. 5.1). On one side

of the vase is a seated women holding a wreath while nearby stands an *aulêtris* holding up her pipes. Three men stand around, one holding a money bag, another putting his hand out towards the woman holding the wreath. On the reverse side, two women, one seated, one standing, play their pipes while two men listen and another holds a bag of money. As Sian Lewis emphasizes, there are a number of pots that show female musicians being offered bags of money. These scenes are most often interpreted as men purchasing prostitutes, but they make more sense as scenes showing preparations for symposia.³⁷ What the image makes clear, however, is that when a woman sold her services as a musician she sold the labor of her body. Unlike the wreath-seller, who sold an object that left the markets without her, the *aulêtris* was selling herself. The distinction may seem overly fine to those prejudiced against manual labor. The female musician who sold her physical labor (labor of her body) could easily be seen as simply selling herself. Further, if she was an independent metic woman, protections of her person in law were, as we saw in [Chapter 4](#), limited. If an *aulêtris* was walking home through the city at night, the only thing that stood between her and potential violence against her person (rape or robbery) was a *thesmothetê* at the right place at the right time.³⁸ The same may likely be said for the *kithara* -player. These were highly skilled musicians, *aulos* -players especially. And yet because they earned a wage from the labor of their bodies (a decent wage, in fact) and fell through a loophole in the law, their lives could be dangerous and they were open to slanders of prostitution both in ancient Athens and by modern scholars.



Figure 5.1 Shopping for the symposia. ca. 490 BCE. BM E61. ©Trustees of the British Museum.

The *kapêlis*, or tavern-keeper, has fared slightly differently than the female musician in that she is more frequently considered closer to a brothel-keeper than a prostitute herself. As with the many female musicians, a number of our attested tavern-keepers were, at one point, slaves. The tavern-keepers of the *phialai* inscription³⁹ and of Aristophanes' *Frogs* are metics. Those who appear in curse tablets may also be metics. Female tavern-keepers, as Brock points out, "had a reputation for bad language as well as dishonesty. . . ." ⁴⁰ But male tavern-keepers had the same reputation. The curse tablets,⁴¹ according to Gager, were often made by rivals attempting to harm their business competitors, hardly a trustworthy source for general attitudes about tavern-keepers.⁴² The fact that at least one of the references to a *kapêlis* has her working alongside her husband once again suggests the tavern could be run as a family business. The bad reputation of tavern-keepers frequently seems to be associated with their status as slaves or metics rather than sexual labor. It may be precisely their foreignness that made independent metic women more likely to become tavern-keepers, especially if they were freed slaves who had run the establishment for their owner prior to being freed.⁴³ Furthermore, women who were from places outside of Athens may not have held to the same social values as Athenian elites who preferred that their women stay separate from certain public spaces. Working as a barmaid would not have offended these individual's (or their customers') sensibilities.⁴⁴ Besides, drinking women are common in the visual and comic arts, especially Aristophanes' plays *Lysistrata* and *Thesmophorizusae*, which suggests that drinking was a social leveler, an activity for citizen, metic, and slave alike. Brock may be right to suggest that citizen wives from the laboring class may have also visited taverns.⁴⁵ It is common to conflate taverns with brothels in scholarship, at times insisting that any attached room or second floor would have been used for sexual activity. There is only one known Athenian structure that may have functioned as both a tavern and a brothel and, perhaps, even a textile factory.⁴⁶ Metic women who worked as *kapêlides* likely earned a decent living, even if they were at times subjected to social prejudices. The same could also be said of wool workers.

According to Susan Rotroff, in order for a woman to make a single simple garment, it would take about a month to prepare the wool, a week or so to set up a loom, and then a few days to do the weaving.⁴⁷ This would have been the timeframe for a single-color, simple textile that could be used to make a simple cloak, chiton, himation, perhaps a

peplos. Time spent on preparing the wool could be shortened if there were household slaves to aid in the work. Scholars consider that such textile production for the house was the main occupation of women in classical Athens and so there would have been little need for a textile industry outside of the occasional cottage industry that sought to earn income for the house by selling the extra textiles of the women of the house.⁴⁸ This ideal that Attic women and *oikoi* were self-sufficient to the point where all or most textiles would be produced within the household seems to be at odds, however, with the number of references in inscriptions and literature to a textile industry—weavers, dyers, seamstresses, and sellers of wool, cloth, and cloaks abound. And if we can trust that iconography is not simply an artist's fantasy, then intricately and lavishly patterned textiles were not uncommon, at least among the elite. If it took almost six weeks to make a simple, single-colored garment for the household, how long would these more elaborate textiles take? The answer, it seems to me, is that these textiles were not only produced by self-sufficient *oikoi* (especially not in Athens proper or the Piraeus), but were also the products of professional weavers, many of whom were certainly slaves and metics.

The *phialai* inscription provide evidence that there were large numbers of metic women (perhaps formerly slaves) who worked as wool workers. Fifty-one of the sixty-four women self-identified as *talasiourgoi*. This high number has made scholars suspicious that so many women could, in fact, be professional wool workers. A handful of theories have arisen to account for their self-identification as such. Rosivach argues that because wool working was the cornerstone of a woman's domestic chores, the term should really be understood as something akin to 'housewife' and they did not earn income from wool working.⁴⁹ Wrenhaven, on the other hand, attempts to situate these women among the so-called spinning *hetairai*, wool-working women on painted pots sometimes identified as prostitutes. *Talasiourgos*, she suggests, was a polite way for a prostitute to list her occupation on a public inscription or dedication.⁵⁰ This view rests on the assumption that there was no need for an industry because household production was self-sufficient. But what about the cloak-and chiton-sellers found in numerous inscriptions (typically men) who sold finished textiles? Or the seamstresses who apparently made a living turning textiles into finished clothes? For these occupations to exist, there must have been both a need for textiles to be produced outside the home and a market of willing buyers. Given the amount of time it would take for a single simple textile produced in the

household, the idea that there were, in fact, large-scale textile production ‘factories’ in the city (or Piraeus) hardly stretches credulity. Labarre has pointed out that the women listed as wool workers on the *phialai* inscriptions lived in urban districts with high demands for textiles (including sails for the fleet).⁵¹ If we consider further the amount of labor required to produce the more complex, Persian- and Ionian-inspired textiles that were the fashion among the elite throughout the classical period, the demand for textile production on a large scale outside of the home becomes more likely.⁵² No doubt this industry employed slaves. Metics must also have been a part of the industry, however, as the *phialai* inscriptions suggest.

Wool working was a respectable task for respectable women and an important part of the womanly ideal in ancient Greece extending back to Penelope, the dutiful wife of Odysseus, and featured prominently on many tombstones of citizen wives in the fifth and fourth centuries (Fig. 5.2).⁵³ Although it is often difficult on tombstones to distinguish between free and slave, a number of tombs show women wool working and have an ethnic or ethnic name (like Kypria in *IG II*² 11933; Demetria of Kyzikus (Fig. 4.1) may also have been shown wool working). This combination suggests that even non-citizen women found wool working an occupation worth commemorating, whether as a womanly ideal or as their occupation we cannot know.

There are a number of reasons why scholars have rejected the plain interpretation that women who self-identified as wool workers were, in reality, wool workers. The connection sometimes made in our ancient sources between foreignness and prostitution might make the unwary believe the categories were co-extensive regardless of explicit identification.⁵⁴ Another



Figure 5.2 Grave stele, Artemisia. Early fourth century BCE. Piraeus Museum 3581.

possibility is that weaving, like other types of physical work done by women, was only respectable if she did not need to earn a wage by it. Any task that required a woman to use the labor of her body to earn a wage was deemed low status and the women, therefore, subject to elite prejudices. Again, failure to be socially respectable from an elite perspective is not co-extensive with prostitution. If we consider the needs and desires of the classical city for textiles and clothing prepared outside the home, a large workforce of metic women, many freed slaves, who could produce it for a wage makes perfectly good

sense. The modern parallels for such industries abound.

Domestic Childcare

Wool workers, tavern-keepers, musicians, and sellers of various goods were not the only metic women who earned a living through the labor of their bodies. Nurses are, perhaps, one of the most well-known occupations for non-citizen women from antiquity. It is a commonplace that nurses were generally slaves and that free women, especially citizen women, did not work in that occupation. As one scholar has remarked:

Although direct references are virtually absent, the overview of epigraphic elements suggests that the majority of nurses on gravestones belonged to the class of slaves. This corroborates the widespread belief that nurses were usually slaves, mostly foreigners.⁵⁵

Revisiting the evidence, epigraphical and literary, however, makes it clear that nurses could be free or slave and that it was even something that citizens did, though rarely. The commonplace is simply wrong. Metic nurses, whether freeborn or freed slave, appear numerous times in the classical sources.

In addition to the two nurses who appear on the *phialai* inscriptions and the nurse from Dem. 47, there are at least three tombs for metic nurses. The first is for Malicha of Kythera from around 375 BCE:

<ε>νθάδ<ε> γῆ κατέχει τίτθην πα-
ίδων Διογείτο | ἐκ Πελοποννήσ-
ο τήνδε δικαιοτάτην. |
Μαλίχα Κυθηρία.

Here the earth holds the nurse of the children of Diogeites, a most just woman from the Peloponnese, Malicha of Kythera (*IG II² 9112* = *Epig. Mus.* 8844).⁵⁶

The image is lost except for the hair and a partial head. Kosmopoulou states that Malicha was a slave because she was foreign, but her conclusions are based on an assumption that nurses are predominately (perhaps exclusively) slave and based on an assumption that Malicha is a Phoenician name.⁵⁷ But, the use of the

ethnic Kytheria along with the geographic ἐκ Πελοποννήσου suggests she was a Greek and likely not a slave, but a metic who came to Athens and worked for Diogeites; Kythera was under Athenian occupation in the early fourth century and it may have been at this time that Malicha was hired. [58](#) Athenian occupation of other territories had led on other occasions to immigration by a particular group to Athens, in this case, Kytherians, and Malicha may have just as likely taken the opportunity of closer ties to Athens to immigrate to the city. The attribute given to her on the tomb, δικαιοσύνην, also suggests non-servile status. Further, it should not surprise us that a Greek woman would have a name that is considered Phoenician. The name appears in two other fourth-century inscriptions (*IG* II² 12028 and *IG* II² 12027) that may refer to citizens. In other Greek inscriptions from Phoenician regions in the Near East, the feminine version of the name does not occur, nor does the feminine occur in North African regions settled by Phoenicians. In fact, the majority of the occurrences are for Greeks living in those regions (primarily near Palmyra) in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods; it simply is not a Phoenician name. All occurrences of the name in the fifth and fourth centuries are from Attica. It is highly unlikely on this evidence that Malicha was Phoenician, but more likely a free Greek from Kythera. A second tomb for a metic nurse belongs to Phanion of Corinth (*Epig. Mus.* #). She is shown seated with two young girls, one a child, the other slightly older and holding a box. *Kosmopoulou* lists her as a slave as well, but the use of the ethnic Κορινθία makes it more likely that she was a metic.

A final tomb for a metic nurse is for Melitta, daughter of Apollodoros ([Fig. 5.3](#)):

[[Μέλιττα]] Ἀπολλοδώρου

ἰσοτελοῦ θυγάτηρ

IMAGE

Μέλιττα. τίτθη.

ἐνθάδε τὴν χρηστὴν τίττην κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτ-
ει| Ἴπποστράτης· καὶ νῦν ποθεῖ σε. | καὶ ζῶσαν σ' ἐφίλ-
ουν, τίτθη, καὶ νῦν σ' ἔτι τιμῶ | οὖσαν καὶ κατὰ γῆς
καὶ τιμήσω σε ἄχρι ἂν ζῶ· | οἶδα δὲ σοὶ ὅτι καὶ κατὰ γ-
ῆς, εἴπερ χρηστοῖς γέρας ἐστίν, | πρῶτει σοὶ τιμ-
αί, τίτθη, παρὰ Φερσεφόνει Πλούτωνί τε κεῖνται.

[[Melitta]] daughter of the *isotelês* Apollodoros, Melitta the nurse. In this place the earth covers over the deserving nurse of Hippostratê, and even now she misses you. I held you dear while you lived, nurse, and still now honor you although you are beneath the earth, and will honor you as long as I live. I know that even in Hades, if there is any reward for the deserving, the foremost honors rest with you, nurse, in the house of Persephone and Pluto (*IG II² 7873/SEG 30.235*).

The tomb, now in the British Museum and dated to the middle of the fourth century, shows an older woman seated with her feet on a footrest while a young girl hands her an object. The top line shows clear signs of erasure and the tomb may have been reused in a later period, though whether the erasure of [[Μέλιττα]] from the first line coincides with the



Figure 5.3 Grave stele, Melitta. Mid-fourth century BCE. 1909,0221.1. ©Trustees of the British Museum.

reuse is not clear. Daux suggests it happened as a result of a correction by the original inscriber.⁵⁹ The likeliest interpretation for the tomb is that Melitta, the metic daughter of the *isoteles*, is the seated woman

pictured, while Hippostratê is the young girl.⁶⁰ The use of *chrestê* to mark the nurse's high value to those under her care has been considered a sign that the figure is a slave, but Melitta is clearly a metic of high status because of the use of *isoteles* to designate her father.⁶¹ Some nurses were surely slaves, as the old nurse in Dem. 47 had been, others were not and even those metics whose families had attained recognition by the polis for their service (so likely families of some wealth) found it a reasonable occupation for a woman. The epigram to Melitta contains many phrases that reveal the family's deep attachment to her. We can assume the speaker of Dem. 47 had a similar affection for his old nurse. After all, he had cared enough for her to let her return to live with his own family long after she had been freed. He also sought religious and even legal avenues for justice after her death. When she was murdered, he may even have put up the sort of tomb that Phanion or Malicha had. It may be the case that both Phanion and Malicha had been slaves to the family that eventually commemorated them but, like the unnamed nurse of Dem. 47, were freed to marry and live their own lives when their services were no longer needed. They may have also both been freeborn women, like Melitta. The prejudice that Euxitheus' mother (Dem. 57) experienced as a result of working as a nurse came not because nurses were universally slaves, but because the nurse was prototypically a non-citizen either slave or metic. That women who worked as nurses were typically foreign is not in doubt, but there is no reason to assume they were typically slaves. The tombs make it explicit in at least one case the woman was a high-status metic and the inclusion of ethnics on others suggests that Melitta was not a unique outlier.

Citizen households may have provided other job opportunities for metic women as personal attendants or as managers and/or governesses for households with widowed fathers. There is some (limited) evidence for such work. The women may have been called *pallakai*. As discussed in previous chapters, there is some evidence for a legal relationship outside of marriage, typically between a metic woman and citizen man called *pallakia*. The term, however, was not used by the Athenians only to signify a specific type of contractual, sexual relationship. It may also have been used to signify a variety of domestic arrangements that involved an unrelated woman who was not a wife or a wife-substitute, but who lived in the house and attended to matters that typically fell under the purview of a wife. These women would have been slaves or metics, but they did not, strictly speaking, have a sexual or sexualized relationship with the

head of the house. Such a definition of *pallakê* is consistent with the way Apollodoros uses the term at [Dem.] 59.122, when he says that men have *pallakê* to take care of the daily needs of their bodies (τὰς δὲ παλλακὰς τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν θεραπείας τοῦ σώματος, 59.122). The conventional translation of *pallakê* as concubine or mistress is unsatisfying here. Allowing the term to refer to a non-sexual household employee instead helps to clarify some of the difficulties scholars have had in the past trying to understand what a *pallakê* was, especially whether slaves could produce free children (as according to a law of Drakon) or whether the *pallakê* had legal protections of any sort (as implied by Isaeus 3). This view of *pallakia* would also clarify the slave *pallakê* of Antiphon 1, who is afraid of being sold into a brothel and is thus (apparently) tempted, Deianira-like, to poison her owner in an attempt to make him fall in love with her.⁶² Among metic women, are there any instances where a woman called a *pallakê* could have been working in a household as an employee, but not living in a sexual relationship with the man of the house? I would like to consider this situation by reexamining the relationship between Neaira and Stephanos. Let us begin from the premise that Apollodoros' charges that they are living as man and wife and the children are hers by him are false. Let us also grant that *pallakê* could be generally and was used in the speech to signify a non-sexual relationship. This is not to say that this was the relationship Stephanos and Neaira shared, but rereading her story as a thought exercise within a framework of employment could suggest possible scenarios for non-sexual relationships for metic women within citizen households.

Since Apollodoros suggests that Stephanos will attempt to argue that Neaira was his *pallakê* and not pretending to be his wife ([Dem.] 59.118), it would be interesting to consider the evidence that Neaira and Stephanos may not have been in a sexual/romantic relationship at all. Instead, perhaps Neaira was, like the woman of Antiphon 1, the type of *pallakê* that was more akin to a *therapaina* than a *gunê*.⁶³ The evidence suggests that she was more than a personal attendant, and acted more like a governess and caretaker in the household. If we reconstruct the chronology of Stephanos and Neaira's relationship and how it is characterized by Apollodoros, he, despite himself, suggests just this type of relationship, not a secret marriage and not legal concubinage. It is nearly without doubt that Neaira was a prostitute while still a slave and that she was treated as such once free in her relationship with Phrynion, but we should be cautious about considering her a prostitute with Stephanos. She could have been

considered a *hetaira*, however, because she was her own *kuria*, having been declared independent and free by the *polemarch*. After this declaration, I suggest she could have formed a contractual bond with Stephanos, who became her *prostates*, to take care of his children after his wife had died or, less likely, divorced. Neaira's primary role would have been to help raise the children and organize the house, much as one would expect the mother/wife to do. Her position in the house made Apollodoros' charges easier to believe because he was describing events that happened long before the trial. Few individuals in the audience would have known Stephanos' wife or when his children were born. This ignorance allowed him to plant sufficient suspicion of Stephanos' witnesses.⁶⁴ The true nature of the relationship between Neaira and Stephanos may have been an arrangement of employer and employee (at least at first and in law) that provided security and comfort for Neaira and gave Stephanos needed domestic support. Such a relationship had no risk of producing more children, relieved Stephanos of the burden of a new marriage, and it created no new financial stresses that marriage and additional children would have placed on his property. Because at that time Neaira was a metic, her own *kuria*, and without family or protections other than Stephanos himself, Apollodoros was able to play on the prejudices of his citizen audience towards such women as a way to advance his vendetta against Stephanos and, potentially, undermine the ability of Stephanos to legally stand for her in court.

Similarly, in Dem. 58.19, the father of Theokrines attempted to prove that a certain Kephisodoros employed a free handmaid (*therapaina*) while pretending she was a slave. The prosecutor failed to prove his case and was fined for bringing a frivolous lawsuit. Although this case is brought up only in passing, the situation has interesting implications for Neaira's case. When the prosecutor brought the case against Kephisodoros, he hoped to prove that an unregistered metic woman was living in the home of a citizen in order to remove her from Kephisodoros' care and sell her into slavery. He would have enjoyed a portion of the profits from the sale and harmed his political enemy at the same time. The effect on the woman was immaterial to the political shenanigans of citizen men. Perhaps, as in Neaira's case, the prosecutor would have included slanders against the *therapaina* (the original speech is lost), claiming that she was more than a personal attendant, that she was pretending to be a slave in the household when she was in fact living with Kephisodoros in the manner of a wife.

A *therapaina* was a common type of servant in a household that seems to have been similar to the type of *pallakê* found in Antiphon 1. It seems to be what Apollodoros means at 59.122 when he says that men have *pallakai* for the daily care of the body. The *therapaina* was typically a slave. They may also have shared characteristics, however, with free *pallakê* who worked in the home of a citizen in a similar capacity, though these women may also have acted in a capacity as caretaker for children and the domestic space. These women would have been appropriate for a household where the children were grown beyond the years when they would need a *tithê*, but were still in need of care. Like a nurse, an unmarried *pallakê* may have continued to reside with the family long after the children had grown up. If a *pallakê* was still young enough to bear children (at the age generally recommended from nurses),⁶⁵ her presence in the household may have been ambiguous enough that it could intentionally be misconstrued by one's enemies as an improper relationship.

Apollodoros himself links the *pallakê* to the notion of caretaking and says that Stephanos will argue that Neaira is a *pallakê*. He also makes several references to Neaira giving care to individuals, such as Phrastor, Phano's first husband. Thus, I think an argument could be made that despite himself, Apollodoros understands *pallakia* as non-sexual and suspects that this non-sexual relationship is what Stephanos will present as his defense. This interpretation would explain the excessive attention Apollodoros gives to Neaira's sexual history; no woman who had spent her life as Neaira was alleged to have could possibly be "just the nanny." As Apollodoros tells the tale, Phrastor fell ill shortly after he turned Phano out of the house (having discovered she was not a citizen, he claims). When he had no one else to take care of him, Phano and Neaira convince him to let them tend his illness:

διαφορᾶς δ' οὐσης αὐτῷ παλαιᾷς πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους τοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀργῆς καὶ μίσους, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἄταις ὄν, ψυχαγωγούμενος ἐν τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ ὑπὸ τε τῆς Νεαίρας καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς [56.] (ἐβάδιζον γὰρ πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς ἡσθένει καὶ ἔρημος ἦν τοῦ θεραπεύσαντος τὸ νόσημα, τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ νόσῳ φέρουσαι καὶ ἐπισκοποῦμαι· ἴστε δῆπου καὶ αὐτοὶ ὅσου ἀξία ἐστὶν γυνὴ ἐν ταῖς νόσοις, παροῦσα κάμνοντι ἀνθρώπῳ).

Because of a long-standing quarrel, anger and hatred with his family, and in addition being childless, he was seduced⁶⁶ in his weakness by Neaira and her daughter (For they went to him because he was weak and lacked a person to nurse (θεραπεύσαντος) his illness. They visited him and brought suitable things for tending sickness. You yourselves know, I suppose, what value a woman is in

Rather than seek care from a doctor or from his own family, he was cared for by Neaira. She, like a typical woman, was expected to be useful for tending to a man's health and well-being. The possibilities, if we allow for non-sexual definitions of *pallakia*, expand to include women who worked, perhaps, as governesses or caretakers without being slaves or the equivalent of wives.

If we do not restrict *pallakia* to a sexual relationship, and allow it to refer to other contractual relationships between a metic woman and a citizen, we have other routes for metic women to find security outside of a sexual liaison. This view of *pallakia* changes the interpretation of Isaeus' statement that relatives make arrangements for the well-being of family members they give into *pallakia* (ναὶ μὰ Δία, ὡς ἔγωγ' οἶμαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ παλλακία διδόντες τὰς ἐαυτῶν πάντες πρότερον διομολογοῦνται περὶ τῶν δοθησομένων ταῖς παλλακαῖς, Is. 3.39). These families are not giving their female relatives into a type of sexual servitude, but they are finding a secure arrangement that may be a romantic contract or may be similar to contractual domestic employment. Elite Athenian biases against labor for money may collapse distinctions between free women's contract labor, slave labor, and sexual availability. That ideological perspective stems from men whose household women did not need to work and who would instead buy slaves to do the jobs.

Isaeus, moreover, includes a range of female relatives in his statement. He does not limit his scope to daughters or sisters or something else specific. This may have been a viable option for a metic woman (even a widow) who was beyond the expected age for marriage (perhaps in her forties). Her uncles or siblings or other male relatives perhaps could not care for her themselves and so sought to establish them in some other secure arrangement, such as a caretaker or governess in a citizen household that for some reason lacked a mother/wife.⁶⁷ *Pallakia*, therefore, could refer not to a single type of contractual arrangement in fourth-century Athens for metic women, but was an umbrella term for several types of contracts that placed a metic woman in a citizen home. It was even a contract she could enter into herself, if, like Neaira, she had been named her own *kuria*.

We cannot prove without a doubt the nature of the relationship between Neaira and Stephanos (a fact Apollodoros exploited), but Neaira was not young when she returned to Athens with Stephanos in 371 BCE. He already had three children and did not need more. If

Neaira was caretaker for the children (*pallakê*), it would explain the close relationship she had with Stephanos' daughter Phano, a relationship that could have encouraged Apollodoros to claim they were mother and daughter. It also explains why Apollodoros sought to dismiss the possibility that Neaira was a *pallakê* —if she was not in a sexual relationship with Stephanos, but simply ran his household, there would be no basis for the charge that she had borne him children, who were then being passed off as citizens. Of course, Apollodoros' actual case was not very well argued on that point. When we further expand *pallakia* beyond a marriage alternative to include a type of employment, we open up another avenue to explore how metic women survived in Athens if they were not marriageable. Women were expected to be trained for and suited to many of the types of domesticities that an employer would have found useful.

Midwives, Doctors, and Folk Healers

Nurses and *pallakai* were not the only professions where metic women engaged in care for others. There is evidence that metic women worked in medicine. At least, we might classify it as medicine; it is not clear if the Athenians would have. In the classical period, the line between medicine and magic was still fluid. Myths frequently connected foreign women with magic, myths that were embedded even within Athenian civic history. The story of Medea is particularly important. The earliest Attic vase images of the Medea story represent her attempt to poison Theseus. In Euripides' play she is invited to Athens by Aegeus in order to use her *pharmaka* to help him have children (*Med.* 708–724). There is no indication in the text that Medea's intent in coming to Athens was to bear those children herself, rather she would serve as a sort of midwife and pharmacist to the king. Her *pharmaka*, she tells him, are effective (*Med.* 718). It is an open question of how women, metic women in particular, followed in the mythical footsteps of Medea as midwives and herbalists. Metic women seem to have acted as midwives (and possibly doctors) and made and sold *pharmaka*. In the former case, there is little indication that there was a stigma attached to this work.⁶⁸ In the latter case, stigma and prejudice abounded.

Modern historians of medicine frequently cite the tomb of

Phanostratê (Fig. 5.4) for evidence of midwives in classical Greece. The tomb shows a seated woman surrounded by four children of varying ages, including a toddler sitting beneath her chair. Another woman, presumably the mother, stands across from the seated Phanostratê; their hands are extended out towards each other in a handshake (*dexiosis*). The text on the tomb is as follows (ca. 400–350 BCE):

Φανο[στράτη———]
 Μελ[———]
 Αντιφιλη Φανοστράτη
 IMAGE
 μαῖα καὶ ἰατρὸς Φανοστράτη ἐνθάδε κεῖται
 [ο]ὕθενι λυπη<ρ> ἅ, πᾶσιν δὲ θανοῦσα ποθεινὴ

Phanostratê, midwife and doctor, lies here no longer in pain, but dead and missed by all (Nat. Mus. 993 = *IG* II² 6873).

Because the tomb is broken in precisely the place where her ethnic and patronymic was carved, it is disputed whether she was a metic or a citizen. In *IG* II² 6873 line 2 of the inscription has been restored as Με[λιτέως γυνή]?. Daux (*SEG* 33.218) goes so far as to suggest Μελιτέως as part of a patronymic with demotic. Because of these restorations, scholars have frequently considered Phanostratê to be a citizen, supporting their claim by reference to Socrates' claim in Plato's *Theaetetus* that his mother was a midwife. When I examined the stone, I found no justification for either restoration. I would propose instead Μελιταίς (as in *IG* II² 9331a) or Μελιται ἑως or even Μιλησια or Μιλησιου.⁶⁹ I do not think she was a citizen and the stone does not yield a clear restoration.⁷⁰ If Phanostratê was a Milesian, her place of origin would closely follow known immigration patterns. Milesians were the largest (and increasingly so) group of immigrants to the city. If we restore the ethnic as Milesian, it is possible that Phanostratê was not an *iatros* in the Hippocratic sense, but perhaps was associated with the Milesian cult of Apollo Iatros, a cult that had a strong presence in the Milesian colonies of the Black Sea.⁷¹

Phanostratê was most likely a metic from either Melos or Miletus who worked as a midwife and doctor for the family of Antiphilê,

whose four children Phanostratê helped birth and keep healthy. Perhaps Antiphilê's husband was Phanostratê's *prostates*. If her patronymic was indeed listed



Figure 5.4 Grave stele, Phanostratê. ca. 350 BCE. National Archaeological Museum, Athens 993.

on the first line of the stone, it is an indication that she was freeborn and, perhaps, immigrated with her family to Athens. Plato states as a matter of course that midwives were typically older women past their

own years of childbearing, so that Phanostratê's father had likely predeceased her. It was not her own family commemorating her on a tomb, a fact that strongly implies that she had no spouse or children of her own still living and no deeper family connections in the city. She may even have lived with Antiphilê, her husband, and the children in a manner similar to what I have suggested for a *pallakê*.

In the Hippocratic corpus, men are shown attending the births of children, not women, according to Nutton, "but they also seem to have made regular use of the knowledge and experience of such women as Phanostratê, 'maia and doctor' . . ."72 Those who erected and paid for the monument to Phanostratê clearly considered her a doctor and she likely did more than attend to births for the family even if she was not, strictly speaking, a doctor in the Hippocratic sense.73 A tombstone, however, even one with an epigram, cannot fully explain her place in Athenian society. Instead, we have a positive representation of a woman praised for her work as a midwife and healer to a local family. Was her foreignness ever an issue? Was her status as an *iatros* ever something that caused prejudices or slander against her? Plato tells us that the midwives were able "by means of drugs and incantations" (φαρμάκια καὶ ἐπάδουσαι; *Theaetetus* 149c–d) to induce births or cause abortions when necessary.74 The line here between medicine and magic is unclear because *pharmakia* can both help and harm the one who takes it. How many metic women found their attempts to practice medicine mischaracterized or slandered as witchcraft or, at least, as malicious? Phanostratê seems to have come from the upper end of the economic spectrum and she had a secure place with a sponsoring family. Perhaps this shielded her from the prejudices other metic women were subject to, especially those who had to sell their *pharmakia* to earn a living.

In the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, roving shamans moved about Greece freely and the boundary between magic and medicine was almost non-existent.75

By 350 BC, however, barriers had arisen. Not that doctors rejected totally some therapies that others might consider magical, for chants, charms and so called sympathetic or white magic all continued to be used, to a greater or lesser extent, within medicine . . . Rather, those practitioners who relied primarily on such procedures [purification, purging] for their cures were now marginalized, or at least excluded from the new idea of medicine and the appellation of *iatros*.76

How might the image of the foreign *pharmakis* function within this professionalization of medicine and the marginalization of more

popular or traditional types of healing? We might consider the Lemnian metec woman Theoris. She was executed along with her offspring for the manufacture and distribution of *pharmakia* (Dem. 25.79). Here we can vividly witness the precariousness of metec women's lives. We do not know her precise situation, but she was apparently condemned for witchcraft after selling drugs to the brother of Aristogeiton, who then resold them as a cure for epilepsy.⁷⁷ Derek Collins has argued that Theoris was not a witch, but something akin to a folk healer whose remedy must have gone wrong and killed an Athenian citizen.⁷⁸ Her punishment was extreme. She and her children were executed. There is no mention that she had a spouse who was also executed; she may have been an independent metec woman with children who earned a living by making and selling remedies and potions of various sorts. As Collins suggests, the Athenian jury must have determined that her actions were intended to harm or kill, thus the resulting death sentence. We do not know what representation she had in the court. If she was a simple folk healer (*akestris*)⁷⁹ or herbalist (*rhizotomos*)⁸⁰ who sold remedies or even erotic potions to customers, then it is difficult to believe that she intended for anyone to die. In the fourth century, making drugs and selling them was not illegal (though it may have become so later). It was, however, possible to be taken to court if you sold a drug that went wrong.

Was Theoris dabbling in magic and seeking to harm citizens with her potions? It is not uncommon to hear slaves or prostitutes accused of selling or using love potions in court cases or in comedy. In some cases, as in Antiphon 1, they kill by poison, thinking (Deianira-style) it is a love potion. The associations of harmful magic and drugs with mythical foreigners like Medea and Circe encourages us to consider that Theoris' condemnation resulted from prejudice against metec women. Collins' claim that Theoris was a simple folk healer is supported by the text of Demosthenes 25:

ἀδελφὸς δ' ἐστὶ τοῦτου ὁμομήτριος καὶ ὁμοπάτριος καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις
κακοῖς δίδυμος. οὗτοςί—τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σιωπῶ, ἄλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ὑμεῖς τὴν μιὰν
Θεωρίδα, τὴν Λημνίαν, τὴν **φαρμακίδα**, καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ γένος ἅπαν
ἀπεκτείνετε, [80] **ταῦτα λαβὼν τὰ φάρμακα καὶ τὰς ἐπιδόας παρὰ**
τῆς θεραπαίνης αὐτῆς, ἥ κατ' ἐκείνης τότε ἐμήνυσεν, ἔξ ἧσπερ ὁ βάσκανος
οὗτος πελαδιοποιῆται, μαγγανεύει καὶ φενακίζει καὶ τοὺς ἐπιλήπτους φησὶν
ἰᾶσθαι, αὐτὸς ὢν ἐπιλήπτος πάσῃ πονηρίᾳ.

He is the full brother of this man on his father and mother's side and his twin in addition to the rest of his misfortunes. This man—I will not talk about the rest

—but on his account you put to death the repulsive Theoris from Lemnos, the *pharmakis*, and all her family. He took these medicines and chants from the handmaid who later informed on this woman from whom this slanderer begot children, the use of charms, and quackery, and (he claims) the ability to heal epileptics (ἐπιλήπτους), although he himself is culpable (ἐπίληπτος) of all wickedness (Dem 25.79–80).

As the Platonic midwife did, Theoris used drugs and incantations. And like the *pallakê* or other woman of a house, her goal seemed to be to care for or tend to others with them, or at least to provide them to others as potential cures. Aristogeiton's brother was being maligned through his association with her, but she, the metic woman and not the Athenian citizen who bought and resold them, was ultimately the one condemned (along with her family) for the failed results of the *pharmaka*. Her status as both a metic and, seemingly, without connections, made her a target.⁸¹ Her fate stands, however, in striking contrast to the fate of Phanostratê. Metic women played a role in the classical city as healers and midwives, but the level of respect and security they received as a result varied along status lines and situations. We do not know if Phanostratê was subject to prejudice or accusations of malpractice while alive as Theoris was. In death, however, she was missed and revered.

Priestesses and Temple Officials

There is another reason why Theoris, unlike Phanostratê, may have been associated with magic and bad medicine. After Demosthenes, other sources add to the story of Theoris that she was a *mantis* (Philochorus *FGrH* 382 F 60) or a priestess (Plutarch *Dem.* 14.4). There was a series of trials in the classical period in Athens against metic women who crossed religious or ritual boundaries. If we include Theoris in the guise of *mantis* or priestess, she joins Ninon⁸² and Phryne, both charged with introducing new gods and for *asebeia* (impiety),⁸³ with both Ninon and Theoris also accused of making potions. Some scholars have even suspected all three of them of being prostitutes. Phryne, in particular, appears as a *hetaira* in Athenaeus. Both Ninon and Theoris were executed by the Athenians for their transgressions. Phryne, we are told, was freed thanks to the efforts of her lover, the orator and politician Hyperides, and the beauty of her bosom. If the line between magic and medicine was thin, the line

between the practice of magic and religion was thinner, especially for foreign women in Athens.⁸⁴

Parker remarks that fewer foreign cults entered Athens between the late fifth and early fourth centuries than scholars have previously thought. He adds that many of those foreign cults were normalized and adapted to citizen practices.⁸⁵ Foreign gods were not necessarily an issue for the Athenians. At issue, however, was a distinction between institutionalized or established cults and those that were not. It is within this context that Parker situates the trials of Ninon, Theoris, and Phryne. A number of the unauthorized cults in Athens were ecstatic in nature and, as with magic, were often seen as threats to civic order, which explains the charges of *asebeia* against women associated with these groups. In addition to being associated with disruptive religions and/or magic, these women were also foreign, something that, as we have already seen, could lead to prejudice. These women also in their own ways transgressed the lines between citizen and metic. Theoris was accused of having children with Aristogeiton's brother and of supplying poisons to citizens. Ninon associated with the mother of Aeschines and other citizens in secret *thiasoi*, and Phryne was supposedly the lover of Hyperides. In each case, their interactions could be seen as a corrupting influence on the citizen body, a corruption perpetrated through the disruptive forces of magic and ecstatic rituals.

Ninon, according to Demosthenes, was executed for acting as priestess at an unauthorized ritual (Dem. 19.281).⁸⁶ A scholiast on this passage adds further that she made love potions and mocked the mysteries.⁸⁷ Josephus tells us she was charged with *asebeia* by adding her to a list of others, mostly men, who had initiated people into the mysteries of foreign gods.⁸⁸ Phryne, we are told by Athenaeus, was an interpreter of oracles (*hupophêtis*) and attendant (*zakoros*) of Aphrodite. She was brought to trial for impiety by Euthias and, according to Harpokration, for introducing a new god named Isodaitês. She supposedly also gathered an illegal *thiasos*.⁸⁹

We should be skeptical of the similarities of the charges against these women. First, the actual contemporary references to these women are brief and depend on prior knowledge. It is possible that the stories of these women as they were expanded by later authors fulfilled some stock literary fantasy, a trope of 'woman standing trial for supernatural activities.'⁹⁰ We should also consider that these types of charges depended on their metic status. Eidinow argues for the extensive influence of envy and gossip: these particular women,

because of their status, were vulnerable to attacks based on envy.⁹¹ Eidinow writes:

It may be that the mention of *pharmaka* in these trials was intended to suggest to the jury not that these women were spell-makers, but that they were dangerous in their desires, even that they were prostitutes employing these potions in order to gain clients. Whether or not this was the case, it does appear that through their ritual activities these women had become, if not powerful, then at least prominent, overstepping the boundaries of their social status, and so certainly risking *phthonos*.⁹²

The metic women tried for *asebeia* or of abusing magic should definitely be viewed as crossing boundaries. This boundary crossing, however, does not stem from prostitution, but from their status as metics. Each one crossed into and violated the realm of the citizen, either through personal relationships or in ritual/cult practices (or both). They were foreign women and that made them vulnerable and, in the case of Ninon, even Demosthenes appears sympathetic to the problem.

In Dem. 19.281, Demosthenes makes the point that it was Ninon and not Aeschines' mother who had been punished for the *thiasos* while making a larger point that no individual in Athens, regardless of prior service to the state or citizen rank, should be above the law. And in both Dem. 39.2 and 40.9, he further makes one wonder if Ninon was not falsely executed when the speaker twice links her prosecutor Menekles with sycophancy and bringing false witnesses (ψευδομαρτυρία). She is associating with citizen women of some status, given the association with Aeschines' mother, and one cannot help but wonder if the real cause for the attack upon her was not because she was a prostitute who overstepped her status, but because she was being used as a way to attack someone or other in the *thiasos*. Such gatherings were not themselves unusual in Athens in the fourth century, especially among elite citizens.⁹³

We should also consider Phryne's status more carefully. She is called in Athenaeus a *hupophêtis* (oracle-interpreter) and *zакoros* (cult official), both of which have associations with real cult practice in the classical period. *Zакoros*, in particular, was the term used in cult inscriptions from the fourth century for officiates of various foreign cults. Although frequently referred to as a courtesan because of the use of the term *hetaira* to describe her in some contemporary sources,⁹⁴ it is equally possible that she was an independent metic woman who was a functionary of one of the cults of Aphrodite in Athens or the Piraeus. In 333 BCE, Phoenicians from Kition requested

permission to found a shrine to the Syrian goddess Aphrodite Ourania in Piraeus, although she had been worshipped in the city for nearly a century.⁹⁵ Phryne was Thespian not Syrian, but that would not have prevented her from being a member of a *thiasos* open to foreigners. She clearly had the funds to pay for participation in the cults.⁹⁶

Such participation by metic women in foreign cults in the fourth century especially would not be abnormal or worthy of a citizen's concern. A number of important foreign cults gained official status over the course of the late fifth and fourth centuries that not only allowed metic women to participate, but even had metic women as priestesses. The best known are the cults of Thracian Bendis, given official status sometime between 429–411 BCE,⁹⁷ the cult of Lydian Magna Mater (sometimes conflated with Phrygian Cybele), founded in Piraeus in the mid-fourth century, and that of Egyptian Isis, established sometime before 333 BCE. Even when these cults received official recognition and land upon which to set up a shrine, each had both citizen and metic *thiasoi*.⁹⁸ In the case of the Mother and Isis, there is clear evidence that metic women not only participated, but officiated. Although almost all of the tombs of priestesses of Isis found in Attica date to the Roman period, at least one tombstone for a metic woman who served as an official in the cult of the Great Mother has been preserved. The *stele* (Piraeus 3627, ca. 350 BCE), for Chairestrate, wife of Menekrates from Ikaria, shows the seated Chairestrate receiving a tympanum (one of the instruments associated with the goddess) from an attendant. An epigram tells of her services to the cult. The priestess of the cult was required to be married, and women past childbearing were perhaps given preference if we are to judge by Chairestrate, who is called old (*graus*) in the epigram. Another grave *stele* may show an adherent to the cult who was still a *parthenos*. The tomb has no inscription and is without any name (there are faint traces of paint on the crown), but it shows a young woman in a dancelike position holding *krotala*, the castanet-type instrument associated both with the Mother's cult and that of Dionysos, next to a young boy who faces her holding up a bird (Fig. 5.5). Although there is no way of knowing whether this *stele* was made for a metic women, it could show another woman adherent to a foreign cult known to attract metic women.⁹⁹ With this in mind, it is entirely likely that both Ninon and Phryne were priestesses or at least associates of foreign cults in Athens. Phryne, perhaps, with a state-recognized cult of Aphrodite, Ninon with a less reputable, but not entirely alien ecstatic *thiasos* that she participated in with citizens.

In the case of all the three women discussed above—Theoris, Ninon, and Phryne—their status as metics likely influenced the fact that they were prosecuted for impiety or bad magic. In each case, the amount of citizen support the metic could muster likely determined the outcome of the case. Theoris, we are told, was the source of drugs or potions sold by Aristogeiton's brother to others. In all likelihood, he let her take the fall when one of the drugs went awry, saving himself by aiding the prosecution of his metic supplier.¹⁰⁰ It is hard to be certain that she was a *mantis* or a priestess. It is clear, however, that in order to convict her, the Athenians must have been convinced (maybe even by her accomplice) that she intended her *pharmaka* to cause harm.¹⁰¹ That Theoris was a metic dealing with seemingly unscrupulous citizens left her extremely vulnerable to having her labor mischaracterized not as medicine or cult, but as black magic.¹⁰² Ninon had connections to citizens of seemingly higher status than Aristogeiton and his brother, but she fared no better at the hands of Menekles and his "gang of sycophants." And yet her execution, at least, was understood as a miscarriage of justice. Her connections to cult and magic, however, were still considered outside of established boundaries. For her to have been executed, enough of the jury must have viewed her activities as a corruption to the city and a threat to civic order. Phryne seems, though, to have had the money and the friends to help secure her acquittal in the courts, despite being a metic woman. Her cult associations were also the most mainstream and the titles she had associating her with the cult of Aphrodite the most recognizably legitimate. Even though she was said to have attempted to introduce a new god, that god was hardly foreign, if he was even real. As Parker points out, *Isodaites* is a Greek word that translates as either "equal divider" or "equal diner."¹⁰³ It may be that the charge of introducing a new god was not part of her case at all. Maybe it was a joke associating her with the shared dining of men and women common both among some of the elite and also at cults of Aphrodite outside of Athens.¹⁰⁴ Cooper has argued that her relationship with Hyperides was a biographical fiction and the similarities of their relationship to that of Perikles and Aspasia and her trial to the trial of Aspasia should make us question whether she was really a courtesan at all.¹⁰⁵ If the most famous aspect of her biography is fictional, so too could be the god she supposedly introduced.



Figure 5.5 Grave *stele*, girl with *krotala*. ca. 350 BCE. National Archaeological Museum, Athens 1896.

Sophists and Educators

I return at the end to Aspasia once again. Although there is a strong tradition from antiquity that characterized her as a woman of “ill-repute,” there was an equally strong tradition associating her with rhetoric. Many of the women from classical Athens whom scholars call courtesans are so-classed in part because of their supposed education, which no citizen wife could supposedly obtain because of her seclusion.¹⁰⁶ The idea that there was a school for courtesans that citizen wives were kept out of was rejected by Gomme long ago:

The whole idea of a specially educated, specially privileged *hetaera* class is fantastic: one imagines a school at Miletus and elsewhere . . . for the education of girls who were to make their way at Athens, and in Athens no “select Establishments for the Daughters of Gentlemen,” but “Academies for Young Ladies at which are taught Geometry, Dialect, and Deportment, whereby Daughters of Foreigners may learn how to captivate the fancy and secure the lasting affection and esteem of the leading members of the Nobility and Gentry. No Athenians need apply.”¹⁰⁷

Gomme is very likely correct that the notion of highly educated prostitutes in classical Athens is a myth. But this does not mean that some women, citizen and metic, were not educated, just that having education in music and even rhetoric did not correlate to and certainly did not cause prostitution (even among expensive prostitutes). Young citizen women could learn to play musical instruments, in part to make them more appealing as wives, while limited evidence exists also for women learning to read and write.¹⁰⁸ Some evidence comes from vase images that represent women reading from book rolls or performing music. It is circular to argue that images of reading women are courtesans because of a theory that only courtesans in Athens were educated. The presence of *erotes* in the images has erroneously been seen to support the courtesan interpretation.

Even if women were excluded from the type of education that allowed them to participate in public intellectual culture, as Glazebrook interprets the evidence,¹⁰⁹ it was possible that some women had the ability to read and play musical instruments. A woman with a book roll would likely not shock an Athenian. One must additionally assume that someone had to teach these women music and reading. Most instruction was likely done privately, as it was for men, although there may have been schools of one sort or another to train girls in music and dance, such as appears on numerous vase images (Fig. 5.6). Would men be hired to instruct young girls in music or reading? Would their mothers do it? Or,

household slaves? There is another possibility: a woman from outside the household. A metic woman like Aspasia could have educated not only young women (citizen and metic), but even men as well.



Figure 5.6 Music and dance school? ca. 450–425 BCE. National Archaeological Museum, Naples 3232.

Parallel to the tradition that Aspasia was a madam or prostitute was another tradition, strongly associated with the Socratics, that she was a teacher of rhetoric. We know that at least four of Socrates' students wrote dialogues in which Aspasia appears. In three of these, by Aeschines, Xenophon, and Plato, she is said to have been highly educated and skilled at rhetoric or matters concerning marriage.¹¹⁰ In dialogues by both Xenophon and Aeschines, Aspasia is intelligent and a positive influence on Socrates' thought. In Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, Socrates passes advice from Aspasia to Kristobulus about how to make a good marriage match (2.6.36). In *Oeconomicus*, Socrates agrees to introduce Kristobulus to Aspasia since she is better-versed than he in how to educate women to be proper wives (3.14).¹¹¹ These texts suggest that Aspasia had knowledge on how to make and maintain good marriages based on trust and shared responsibility and that she shared this knowledge with her philosopher friend, Socrates.¹¹²

Aeschines claimed that Aspasia associated with respectable wives of Athenian men (Dittmar Fr. 30). He also suggested that she was considered a possible tutor for aristocratic young men (Dittmar Fr. 17) and stated that she was a skilled teacher of rhetoric for citizen men,

including both Perikles and Lysikles (Dittmar Fr. 26). Ehlers suggests in her reconstruction of Aeschines' *Aspasia* that he most likely tried to mitigate her position as a courtesan/madam by making her an old woman, though she still probably served as some kind of erotic pedagogue in addition to a teacher of rhetoric (education was often erotic in our sources).¹¹³ Henry, however, thinks Aeschines may have referred to her as a *promnestris*, matchmaker, instead.¹¹⁴ No trace other than Ehlers' fanciful suppositions exists in our fragment that Aeschines said or suggested she was a courtesan or erotic pedagogue.¹¹⁵

Plato's *Menexenus* represents Aspasia differently than Xenophon and Aeschines, but retains the association of Aspasia with rhetoric. *Menexenus* has more rhetoric than philosophy. In it, Socrates' encounter with Menexenus is brief. For most of the dialogue, Socrates recites to Menexenus a speech he heard Aspasia give. The speech appears to be a parody of funeral oratory and to mock mildly the famous speech of Perikles recounted by Thukydides. Interpretations of the effect of the dialogue range from a harsh critique of the emptiness of democratic ideology to an attack on Sophism. Henry suggests that much of the language used about Aspasia by Socrates and Menexenus in the introduction to the main speech is unnecessarily sexual in an un-sexual context.¹¹⁶ Among the Socratics, only Antisthenes explicitly sexualizes Aspasia, who, along with Alkibiades, functions as a locus of *hedonê*, the one hint in the Socratic tradition of the sexual slanders she endured on the comic stage. In the *Menexenus*, Aspasia seems to be the repository of the rhetorical/Sophistic aspects of Socratic thought and teaching—Plato would claim time and again that Socrates was not a Sophist, and yet this is precisely the popular image of Socrates apparent in Aristophanes' *Clouds*.

Just as we need to be skeptical of the veracity of the comic tradition that Aspasia was a madam, we must be cautious that the Socratic tradition proves, first, that Aspasia was a teacher of rhetoric,¹¹⁷ and, second, that this was a possible avenue of employment for a wealthy metic woman. Her persona in these texts may be less a product of her real status as a Sophist and more a product of the meritocracy of Socratic (Platonic) intellectual life or the views of women's role in the ideal society that finds its most prominent expression in the *Republic* Book 5.¹¹⁸ And yet, the comic poets and Plutarch appear to corroborate that Aspasia was a teacher of rhetoric to both men and women. This teaching may even be the indirect source of the tradition that she became a madam. The women whom Aristophanes refers to

at *Acharnians* 532–529 as *pornai* may have been students—on the comic stage Aspasia’s girls became her ‘girls.’ Although equally controversial, the role of Sappho on Lesbos may provide comparanda. Aspasia came originally from the more open Ionian Greek culture (like Sappho). To her, employment as a teacher may have been entirely reasonable. And if she taught music to girls, it may not have been controversial to Athenians either, but Aspasia taught rhetoric. Rhetoric was a man’s world. Our problems with reconciling the comic and philosophical traditions about Aspasia troubled Plutarch as well. Although Plutarch assures his readers that Perikles’ relationship to Aspasia was romantic (*Per.* 24.4), he emphasizes that both Perikles and others admired her for her rhetorical skills (24.1, 24.3).

It remains unclear what the complex evidence on Aspasia reveals about opportunities for metic women generally. Aspasia may be a singular and unique woman in Athenian history. However, our evidence is full of holes: Phanostratê, midwife and doctor, may be unique as well or just the single example that survives. Aspasia may simply be uniquely prominent because of her associations with Perikles and Alkibiades. This association made her a target for sexual scandals and for attacks in public. It is not hard to imagine that Aspasia was just one prominent example of a number of metic women in Athens who taught young girls letters, music, dance, or other accomplishments. Perhaps some of these educators were, like nurses, former slaves who were freed and then went on to run small schools or work as private tutors. The girls who were educated may have frequently been non-Athenians, Ionians, and Dorians, since educating women was not unheard of elsewhere in Greece. And this may be one source of the long-standing association of foreign women in Athens, Milesians especially, with being educated.

Conclusion

Metic women participated in a broad range of activities within the economic, social, and religious life of classical Athens. At every level the vulnerability of these women is evident. Some were vulnerable to slanders; others to threats to their well-being, even their lives. At the same time, they were vital members of their communities and performed tasks and provided services to citizens, slaves, and fellow

metics alike. There were always risks to being a foreign woman in Athens, but there were also opportunities. Those opportunities were not limited to or dominated by sexual labor. Although our evidence will never be as rich and self-evident as we would like, it is sufficient to show that metic women from all economic levels could find a livelihood in the city even as they were increasingly limited in and finally completely excluded from access to citizenship. Our view of the ways in which metic women integrated into and interacted with the citizen population has been obscured by a heavy reliance on ideologically driven and highly prejudicial representations of them, representations that almost universally treat them as sexually available and socially deviant. Inscriptional evidence, however, gives us a broader picture and allows us to see, despite the prejudices and the legal vulnerability, how important they were to the life of the city.

Notes

1. E. Cohen (2000) 142–143.
2. Vlassopoulos (2007) 35 suggests the charge was that he was born of slaves or freed slaves. That is not indicated in the speech.
3. See Brock (1994) and Vlassopoulos (2007) 42–47 on citizen women and labor. Vlassopoulos (2007) 33 emphasizes the elite nature of many of our sources as a stumbling block to understanding the function of the Athenian economy and society.
4. See Vlassopoulos (2007) for discussion and bibliography on the *agora* as a ‘free space’ in Athens where the lines between people of different statuses blurred.
5. Apollodoros uses the phrase to refer to Neaira’s activities at 59.20.5, 59.49.2, and 59.108.1.
6. See also Xen. *Mem.* 2.8.1–3 where Eutherus tells Socrates he has lost his property as the result of the war and must now eke out a living τῷ σώματι ἐργάζόμενος. The same phrasing is used at Xen. *Vect.* 4.22. The labor in both cases is considered menial and more appropriate to slaves and foreigners.
7. A similar phrase appears in Andokides’ *Against Alkibiades* 4.32 in reference to athletic competitions and is contrasted explicitly with deeds done for money.
8. According to analysis of Aristotle, even skilled labor had an element of *banauusia*. For metics, Whitehead (1977) 118–120 notes, there was always the risk of being tainted by prejudice against needing to earn a living since they were denied the right to own property (*enktesis*) except in rare cases. But, Whitehead further suggests that because it was expected that metics needed to work, the prejudice was not as bad as it was against a citizen. Our sources on women suggest otherwise.
9. The phrase used of Timarchos by Aeschines repeatedly (e.g. 1.52)—he earned

money from his body (μεμισθαρηκότα αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι).

10. Apollodoros makes a point of emphasizing that he does not know how Stephanos earned his income or what property he held and insinuates that Stephanos acted as Neaira's pimp (59.42–44). According to Apollodoros, neither of them had property to supply means for their expenditures (59.42).
11. See Chapter 4, this volume, for discussion of the *phialai* inscriptions. I agree with Meyer (2010) that the majority of the inscriptions more likely concern metics who escaped charges of *aprostasiou* (not having a *prostates*). Others could reflect freed slave metics who escaped charges that they had not been properly freed (my interpretation of *apostasiou*).
12. Labarre (1998) 793 counts 158 total occupations and he gives the number sixty-three for women listed with occupations. Meyer also counts sixty-three, but *IG II² 1578 1.5* must be a female even though her name is missing from the text.
13. Labarre (1998) 793 and 795, Rosivach (1989) 365–366, and Meyer (2010) 15 give fifty-one as the number of *talasiourgoi*, while Tod (1950) 10–11 counts only forty-three. Todd (1997) 121 lists forty-one.
14. *IG II² 1553 11. 14 and 16; IG II² 1557 1. 51*. The restoration of *kapêlis* in 1553.14 is not secure. If it is correct, that would give us sixty-five women listed with occupations.
15. *SEG 25:178 = IG II² 1553 = SEG 18.36*.
16. *IG II² 1557 1. 63*.
17. *IG II² 1559 1. 60 and 63 = SEG 18.36*.
18. *IG II 2 1554 l. 40 = SEG 18.36; IG II 2 1561 l. 27*.
19. *IG II 2 1570 l. 73*.
20. *SEG 25.180. IG II² 11688 = SEG 28:327* lists Thraitta, a perfume-mixer (*murepsos*), as well, but there is no ethnic on the tomb, leaving one to assume she was a slave, although the name does occur in the *phialai* inscriptions. A red-figure *pelike* (ARV 596.1, Bern 12227) shows two women, one seated, in what looks like a transaction. It could represent perfume-selling in the market. This is how Rotroff and Lamberton (2006) interpret it. See Osborne (2011) 134–135 for image. S. Lewis (1995) discusses perfume shops as places where the elite met to debate and converse in public (as opposed to the barber shops, where, she suggests, those of moderate or no wealth would mingle).
21. *IG II² 1556 1. 28 = SEG 18.36*.
22. *IG II² 1576 1. 17*.
23. *IG II² 1578 1. 5*. Abbreviated *skut*. There are ten other shoemakers listed in the inscriptions, all of whom are men. It may be that she lists her husband's occupation as her own, but there is no evidence that she is married since she is not positioned in the inscription as part of a family grouping as with the honey-sellers.
24. The child listed below suggests that this is a family group. All were residents of

Piraeus and were prosecuted by the same individual, Hippokrates.

25. Euxitheus implies in Dem. 57.30 that he sold ribbons alongside of his mother.
26. See Brock (1994). He focuses on labor that could be performed by citizen women, but many of the same activities were done by metics. Also definitively attested for metic women in other inscriptions are *himatiôpolis* (cloakseller, *IG II² 11254*) and reed-seller (*kalamides*, *IG II 2 1672 l. 64*).
27. Brock (1994) 336–337. Pomeroy (1994) is focused (intentionally or not) on the issue of respectable and non-respectable and can only view working women in the classical period through this lens, as Harmon (2005) 351 points out.
28. Gager (1992) 153.
29. Most prominently Davidson (1997) 82, McClure (2003) 9–10, and Henderson (1991) 81, 183 n.120.
30. See Goldman (forthcoming). British Museum E241 seems to show an *aulêtris* at a woman's festival. Scholars frequently confuse linking a term with prostitution in lists of women who are easy to sway or of low status with the terms being synonyms. A common conflation of *aulêtris* and prostitute happens with Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F290. In Anakreon *PMG* 388 prostitutes and bread-sellers are conflated. The two occupations share a low status, but it does not make them the same thing.
31. Brock (1994) 344.
32. He uses the term *kitharistriaî*.
33. Loomis (1998) *passim*.
34. If they paid for the *phialai* themselves. Meyer (2010) argues that the unsuccessful prosecutor paid.
35. Harmon (2005) 352 n.5.
36. See Schaps (1979) 52–58 and Foxhall (1989).
37. S. Lewis (2002) 94–96.
38. Dem. 21.6 mentions a *thesmothetê* who was hit while attempting to rescue an *aulêtris* from Meidias, the defendant. A scholiast on the text states that it was one job of the *thesmothetai* to make rounds in the evenings to prevent *harpagai* (rape/theft). Goldman also cites the case mentioned in Dem. 23, where a man assaulted a Rhodian lyre-player at a festival at Eleusis. The man was executed, likely because his assault was a crime against the gods.
39. *IG II² 1553 ll. 14 and 16*.
40. Brock (1994) 341. A popular reference for the reputation of female tavernkeepers is to Poverty in Aristophanes' *Wealth* 426–436, who is compared to a barmaid and accused of using bad language and cheating customers by short-pouring their drink.
41. It is not easy to tell from the curse tablets whether individuals are slaves or free, metic or citizen. Names have often been used to determine status, especially names that seem to reflect ethnics like Thraitta (Thracian woman), which appears in both the *phialai* inscriptions to refer to a *kapêlis* (*IG II²*

1557) and a curse tablet (IG III App. 87). In the former case, she is definitely free, in the latter, she is the *gunê* of another *kapêlos*.

42. Gager (1992) 154. Davidson (1997) 54–56 also emphasizes the competitive nature of tavern-keeping in his brief overview of the establishments.
43. We might think here of the slave Alkê in Isaeus 6, who ran a business (implied to be a brothel) for her owner. The speaker is attempting to portray her in the most negative light, so it is unclear if we should believe she is, in fact, running a brothel. It could be a tavern or an inn.
44. See Blazenby (2011) and (2008) 29–30 and Reade (1995) on Near Eastern sympotic activities that included both men and women. See Chapter 3, this volume.
45. Brock (1994) 341.
46. Most archaeological sites in which large enough quantities of drinking vessels have been found to qualify as a tavern have been identified as houses of the elite. Building Z3 in the Kerameikos, however, seems to have been a multi-purpose building with remains that point to these various functions. See Glazebrook (2012) 46 and Knigge (2005) 49–79; Pl. 99–141.
47. Rotroff and Lamberton (2006) 34.
48. S. Lewis (2002) 59–65 gives a good overview of the ideal of weaving as domestic labor. Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* Book 7 is the ancient *locus classicus* for this ideal.
49. Rosivach (1989).
50. Wrenhaven (2009). There are significant problems with Wrenhaven's analysis. First, Wrenhaven, like Rosivach (1989), does not take all of the fragments of the *phialai* into account and calculates that 81 percent of the women listed in the inscriptions self-identified as wool workers. She then further assumes that this number was an unreasonably high ratio of wool workers to women. In fact, the ratio of wool workers to total women in the inscriptions is around 37 percent at the most and potentially as low as 25 percent. Leaving aside the bizarre assumption that the Athenian economy could not support 80 percent of women working as wool workers, but could support the same percentage of prostitutes, the actual numbers should not arouse suspicion. Any interpretation of demographics would suggest that the need for clothing was much higher than the need for venal sex. Fischer (2013) goes further in her association of wool working with prostitution, but she rests her claim on the faulty assumption that we can identify prostitutes on vase images by the type of headdress they wear or by the complexity of the textiles in her clothes. She undermines her own arguments in the second half of her paper. The same *sakkoi*, tiaras, and complex textiles that supposedly identify prostitutes on vases also appear on images that clearly show wives, including wedding scenes and tombstones. See Wrenhaven (2009) and S. Lewis (2002) for bibliography on the spinning *hetaira* debate.
51. Labarre (1998) 798–799.
52. See Miller (1997) 75–81, 155–183 on the interest in Persian-inspired and Ionian fashion. We might consider the Attica-based production of these

textiles to be similar to the example she gives of the domestic production of shoes that imitated Persian style instead of importing such shoes from abroad (153–154).

53. S. Lewis (2002) argues for this interpretation of vase iconography.
54. One major basis for the arguments in Fischer (2013). Wrenhaven (2009) 308 also attempts to use names that are either foreign sounding or suggestive of sexual desirability to identify wool workers of the *phialai* as prostitutes. Nearly every name she lists as a prostitute name has at least one parallel instance for a citizen in the classical period, including such suggestive names as Aphrodisia (*IG II²* 7509).
55. Kosmopoulou (2001) 291.
56. Pictured at Clairmont 1.350.
57. Kosmopoulou (2001) 290.
58. Clairmont (1970) 85 suggests she was hired on Kythera and brought back to Athens.
59. Daux (1972) 532–535. Clairmont's (1970) suggestion for the erasure is highly unlikely and places the erasure at the time of the reuse. He suggests that the gravestone originally honored Melitta the nurse, daughter of Apollodoros *isoteles* and the girl shown with her was the Hippostratê of the epigram. The tomb was later reused for a girl named Melitta and the name Melitta was erased from the first line of the tombstone and added over the name of the girl's figure in the image field: "It may have been a felicitous but obviously highly hypothetical coincidence that the second Melitta was the daughter of some Apollodoros but in order to avoid all the confusion with Melitta, the nurse, the latter's name was erased from the name inscription and the girl clearly marked with that name above her head."
60. The additional placement of the name Melitta in the image field above the young girl is, in actuality, the labeling of Melitta close to her head (her hair touches the top of the image field and so no name could fit there).
61. Kosmopoulou (2001) 290. *Chrestos* was considered a term of high praise for a citizen man. It is unclear why it would be assumed to be used exclusively of slave women in the feminine. Citing Whitehead, she defines *isoteles* as "one of the privileged non-citizens who enjoyed a status between metics and slaves." Whitehead said no such thing. It was actually a very high status for a metic to have—tax equality with citizens. Wrenhaven (2012) 98 views Melitta as an exception to the rule that nurses were slaves.
62. Antiphon 1.14–15. If we use the conventional translation of mistress or concubine, the scenario is that Philoneus is currently her lover and has decided instead to set her up as a prostitute. The stepmother intervenes to use the situation to her own benefit. There are two problems with this interpretation: 1. *Pallakê* is generally discussed in ancient sources as a contractual relationship for the purpose of bearing free children, but slaves cannot bear free children in classical Athens; 2. It forces an unnatural reading of the Greek. The *pallakê* is recruited by the stepmother to give a love potion to Philoneus and the husband ἐκείνη τε τὸν Φιλόνεων φίλον ποιῆσαι καὶ

αὐτῇ τὸν ἑμὸν πατέρα. Scholars' view of *pallakia* forces them to translate ποιῆσαι as 'renew.' If we do not presuppose a sexual relationship between Philoneus and the *pallakê*, the line simply reads "to procure Philoneus' love for her." Thus the scenario changes: Philoneus has a domestic/body servant (a slave)—the kind who "tends to one's daily needs" whom he decides to set up as a prostitute. The servant does not want to be a prostitute and the stepmother, seeing this as a wrong being done to the girl, befriends her and recruits her with a promise of preventing prostitution by helping her make Philoneus her lover and therefore less likely to prostitute her. This scenario makes better sense if we consider that Philoneus and the father's death come about at a sacrifice to Zeus Ctesius where a man is more likely to take his servant than his slave-concubine. See Chapter 4, this volume, for *pallakia* as a formally contracted marriage-like relationship between free metics and citizen men.

63. I admit that it is also tempting to reinterpret the *pallakis* inscription (*SEG* 13:189) discussed in Chapter 3, this volume, as the listing of a profession except that the position of *pallakis* between the names of two different men suggests that the first is a husband, the second a father. However, it is not without precedent in grave *stelai* to see *tithê* in that same position with the name of the person whom she served.
64. The trial is from the 340s and Apollodoros is very careful to place Neaira's return to Athens with Stephanos just after 371 BCE. She likely would have already been in her thirties at that time and in her sixties or older at the time of the trial.
65. Medical texts from the Roman period generally recommended that wet-nurses be between twenty-five and forty in age. See Aly (1996) for an overview of ancient Greek and Roman recommendations on the best wet-nurses.
66. ψυχαγωγούμενος; Kapparis translates this as "comforting." But in context, they are taking advantage of him to install a child not his own into his household.
67. The number of women who died in childbirth is often assumed to be rather high given the number of tombs attested for such women as well as by demographic comparison with other similar cultures.
68. Plato *Theaetetus* 149b–150a states that older women who are past childbearing years acted as midwives and that these women were *semnai*, revered and worthy of respect (150a).
69. The restoration of Με[λιτώος γυνή] would, in fact, be odd if the word after Φανο[στράτη —, —] was a patronymic. Rather, Daux's suggestion that only the ethnic fits on the second line is best, although I think it was an ethnic and not a demotic for her father. Daux was rather too aggressive in his restoration, indicating partially visible letters. While there are two down-strokes visible under the break that *could* be ΔΙ, there are no visible letters after that (certainly not τέως as Daux suggests). It is also possible that the down-strokes are ΙΤ or even ΤΑ. Even the Ε marked in both the *IG* and *SEG* texts as secure should probably be dotted. The second line, then, could read ΜΙ with the lines of the stone itself being mistaken for traces of carving. The

strokes that supposedly form the cross bar for the E gave no impression of depth to the touch, unlike the other letters, even the severely faded ANTIΦΙΑΗ over the standing figure.

70. Clairmont (1970) 131 and Kosmopoulou (2001) 300 agree that she was most likely a metic. The only indication that she was a citizen is the questionably restored text.
71. See Ehrhardt (1989). The line between temple medicine, folk remedies, and clinical medicine was not clear in the classical period and they were close enough that anecdotes linking them together are common (Totelin (2009) 119–124).
72. Nutton (2012) 101.
73. Nutton (2012) 101 remarks, “Whether there were women doctors and what that might have meant in the context of fifth- and fourth-century Greece are matters of considerable controversy . . . According to Hyginus, there were no such practitioners in Athens because women and slaves were forbidden to learn the art of medicine until Hagnodikê, ‘a pupil of Herophilus’, who disguised herself as a man. When later tried for this crime and in danger of being condemned to death, she was saved by the protests of the Athenian mothers she had attended.” For the role of women as medical providers to the family, he cites Xen. *Oec.*, where the wife is tasked with tending the health and treatment of all the slaves in the household (and likely the children).
74. On abortion in classical Greece, see Kapparis (2002) 27–30 (magic and superstition), 84–88 (performed by midwives), 174–193 (legality).
75. Nutton (2012) 114, citing Parker (1983) 208–213.
76. Nutton (2012) 114. See also Graf (1997) 30–35.
77. See further Collins (2000). On *pharmakis* as gendered female (in the tradition of Medea and Circe), see Chantraine (1983) 749. Although often translated as “witch” or “magician,” Eidinow (2010) 12 says it should have a broader range of meaning. Based on Scarborough (1991), she suggests the *pharmakis* had access to both divine and natural phenomena as part of the making of *pharmakon*.
78. Collins (2000) 267–270.
79. Not to be confused with a seamstress (*akestria*), which appears in the *phialai* inscriptions (IG II² 1556 1. 28 = SEG 18.36).
80. Literally, a root-cutter.
81. The text is ambiguous, but seems to state that she had children with the brother. Were these children the family members executed along with Theoris? If so, what can this situation tell us about the relationship a citizen man might have with his non-citizen offspring? It seems an extreme manifestation of the ideology of the metic.
82. Ninon is not a Greek name and only occurs in the accusative in our texts, so scholars variously call her Nino, Ninos, and Ninon. I have elected to use Ninon.
83. We might include also the likely fictional trial of Aspasia from the fifth century

for *asebeia*. Her purported prosecutor was the comic poet Hermippus. He is said to have charged her with procuring free women as prostitutes for Perikles (Phidias was also accused of this). Stadter (1989) 297–298 rejects the reality of the trial. He says it was likely a play that, over the course of 700 years, became inserted into the life of Aspasia as fact.

84. Gilhuly (2009) is particularly interested in the lack of boundary between prostitute and priestess in what she calls the ideological matrix of gender in classical Athens. Although she does not discuss Phryne, she assumes frequently that foreign women who were linked with cult or ritual were likely also prostitutes.
85. Parker (1996) 163. He puts the influx of cults into the context of changes to already existing Athenian ones in Ch. 9 (152–198).
86. He accuses Aeschines' mother of gathering the revelers (*thiasos*) at which Ninon was priestess. It is normally said that Ninon was accused of assembling the *thiasos* herself, but Garland (1992) 150 correctly notes that Aeschines' mother does it.
87. 495a Dilts and 495b Dilts.
88. Jos. Ap. 2.267. The last name in the list *may* be Ninon. The text has been corrupted. Josephus wrongly says that initiating people into the mysteries of foreign gods was punishable by death. It was impiety that brought death. The initiations were used to demonstrate impiety.
89. Ath. *Deip.* 13. 590d-l. *Oratores Attici* 2.302 (Harpokration on 'Euthias'). See also Plutarch *Lives of Ten Orators* 849e. Many references to Hyperides' defense speech are collected in Jensen as Hyperides Fr. 171–180.
90. Eidinow looks to Aesop, Antiphon 1, and pseudo-Aristotle *Magna Moralia* 16 (1188b29–38) for a similar set of tropes. In each of these cases the woman is accused of murder by poison (one of *asebeia*) and argues that she thought it was a love potion, not poison (Eidinow 15). Again we see the story pattern of Deianira in Sophocles' *Trachiniai*.
91. Eidinow (2010) 25–30.
92. Eidinow (2010) 32.
93. On the formation of *thiasoi* to worship ecstatic gods in the classical period, see Garland (1992) and Parker (1996). The associations Parker (1996) 162 draws are not with impious threats to the state, but with 'frivolity and wantonness,' especially with Orphic- and Bacchic-type rites.
94. Posidippos Fr. 13 and Callistratos *FrGH* 348 F 1. The anecdotes that she was the model for Praxiteles and Appelles as well as her relationship to Hyperides are also factors. But we should be careful about relating her lifestyle and activities to prostitution *per se*.
95. *App* III 7–9. The comic poets mock the cult as favored by prostitutes, but to the comic poets, nearly all women could, in one way or another, be considered prostitutes. The lines between citizen wife and whore are very blurry in comedies that feature women worshipping the gods (*Thesmophorizusae*, for example). See Gilhuly (2009) 140–179.

96. Of the cults that had recognized status and *thiasoi* or *orgeones* that included women and foreigners, the requirement for membership seems only to have been the ability to pay a membership fee.
97. A shrine to the Great Mother was set up in the Athenian agora in the late fifth century, but this seems to have been distinct from the later cult. Garland (1987) 129 suggests that the Piraeen version was less Hellenized and less tame than its Athenian counterpart. On the acceptance of the cult in the city as part of official state cult, see Munn (2006) 317–349.
98. Or *orgeones*. The terms seem to be used mostly interchangeably. See Garland (1987) on each cult for its basic membership.
99. Viewing her as a metic adherent to a foreign cult is a more likely supposition than calling her a prostitute, as Clairmont (1993) 432 does: “The *krotala* is so very exceptional on classical Attic gravestones that one might perhaps suggest that the present memorial honors a *hetaira*. Her garment could but support this interpretation; nor are her dainty face and coiffure contradicting it.”
100. See Collins (2000).
101. Collins (2000) 267.
102. See Graf (1997) 21–35 on the distinctions between types of magical practitioners.
103. Parker (1996) 162–163.
104. On shared dining among the elite in Athens, see Chapter 3, this volume. On shared dining at cults of Aphrodite outside of Athens, see Redfield (2003) 201–308 on the Epizephyrian Locrians.
105. Cooper (1995) examines first the way the words of Hyperides (specifically Fr. 172) were taken out of their context by Idomeneus as evidence that they were lovers. The evidence is also quite overwhelming that the story preserved in Athenaeus about her trial was created by Idomeneus on the model of the Perikles/Aspasia trial and their relationship assumed as part of a trope of the sexually promiscuous demagogue. He even suggests that the Phryne of Hyperides and the courtesan/model for artists were two different women, which Herodicus is noted to have considered at Ath. *Deip.* 13.591d.
106. There is a theory that wives were essentially uneducated or only given a basic education while courtesans were expected to be “outspoken and even rhetorically skilled” because of the “larger variety of verbal contexts” required in their interactions with men (McClure (2003) 23). “Many of these, in addition to physical beauty, had had intellectual training and possessed artistic talents, attributes that made them more entertaining companions to Athenian men at parties than were their legitimate wives” (Pomeroy (1994) 89). Although McClure (2003) 2 acknowledges that the theory that courtesans were educated may be a result of misplaced faith in the historical accuracy of Book 13 of Athenaeus’ *Deipnosophistae*, she ultimately defines the courtesan as a woman of education.
107. Gomme (1925) 16–17.
108. See Vazaki (2003) for the role of musical education in preparing *parthenoi* to

become wives. While it is the scholarly consensus that some elite women received some education in reading and writing, see Glazebrook (2005b) for a discussion of the limitations of our evidence (3–4 n.8 for bibliography on women’s literacy).

109. See Glazebrook (2005b) 4–5 for bibliography. Or, the association of women with book rolls in images mark women as intellectually inferior to citizen men; the book is associated with “passivity, subservience, and instability,” not the male-dominated world of the polis (Glazebrook (2005b) 36).
110. See Chapter 3, this volume.
111. It could be ironic, but I do not think so.
112. As Henry (1995) 46 writes, he, “. . . evokes a woman whose life and thought were neither dependent on nor mediated by her sexual relationship with Perikles . . . [H]er reputed ability to educate spouses, taken with her advice that marriages be made honestly, shows her to be interested in helping create ethical and lasting partnerships.”
113. Ehlers (1966) 85.
114. Henry (1995) 45.
115. Ehlers (1966) 90–93 simply assumes she was a prostitute. This is not to say there are not erotic threads in the Socratic dialogues. In both Xenophon’s and Aeschines’ dialogues, however, they seem to attach to Socrates whom Henry (1995) 51–52, 55 argues took Aspasia’s core teachings about marital relations and extended them to homosexual and other non-marital relationships. It is Socrates who calls himself a procurer (*mastropos*) in Xenophon’s *Symposium* (3.10). Aspasia does not receive that particular label or any other that implies participation in the sex trade (real or metaphorical) from Aeschines.
116. Henry (1995) 39. Though she does not give any specific examples. There is, in fact, nothing excessively sexual about the dialogue that introduces the speech.
117. For example, Gale (2000), Jarrett and Ong (1995), and Glenn (1994). Welch and Jobe (2005) go so far as to provide an analysis of Aspasia’s rhetorical practice and theory based on the existence of Plato’s *Menexenus*.
118. *Rep.* 451c–457b. Socrates begins by proposing that women be given the same education as men if they are to be put to similar uses in society and marks the contemporary practices among the Athenians as less than desirable, but clearly opposed to this idea. The notion expressed at 454d–456a that the nature of the mind of a woman could be similar to a man’s and that, therefore, a woman could qualify as a guardian is most to the point. Aspasia, as well as Diotima, would likely fall into this category.

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Index

- abortion 143, 158n.74
Aegeus 43, 50–1, 56, 64–5, 142
Aegyptids 29, 31, 35–7
Aeschylus 10, 14, 23, 26, 28–38, 58, 63; *Agamemnon* 90; *Eumenides* 28, 32–7, 49, 66; *Persians* 38; *Suppliants* 14, 23, 28–32, 35, 37–8, 49, 55, 60–2, 66
agora (market) 9, 77, 91–2, 123–4, 126–33, 154, 160
Alkibiades (II) 76–7, 91–2
Alkibiades (III) 75, 77, 83, 85, 152, 154
Alkmaeonids 61–2, 80
Amazons 28, 45–6, 55–6, 58–9; in *Hippolytus* 39, 43–4, 46–9
Anakreon 71, 80–1, 94, 155
Antigone (character) 26, 38–40; *see also* Sophocles
Antisthenes 75–6, 79, 91, 152
Aphrodite 36, 38–9, 41, 44, 48–9, 61–4, 94, 111, 117, 146–8, 160
Apollo 34–5
Apollodoros (son of Pasion) 20, 100, 103–6, 109–13, 117, 119, 122, 124–5, 136–41, 154, 159
Apollodoros (father of Melitta) 134, 151
archê, *see* Athenian empire
aretê (excellence) 8, 37, 46, 50, 97, 107, 114, 125
Aristogeiton 25, 98–101, 103, 118, 128; brother of 100, 143–5, 148; mother of 99–101; sister of 99–101, 118;
Aristophanes (poet) 75, 77, 80, 83, 88, 91, 95, 129–30, 152, 155
Aristophanes of Byzantium 12
Aristophon, law of 19, 21, 25; *see also* Nikomenes
Aristotle 4, 10, 12–13, 22, 63, 107, 120, 128, 154
astoxenoi 32, 62
Aspasia 4, 8, 11, 17, 19, 23, 59, 68–79, 82–95, 112, 148, 150–3, 159; *see also* Perikles
Athena 33–6, 46, 66, 119
Athenaeus 26, 70, 75, 145–7, 160
Athenian empire 4–5, 9–10, 14–15, 23, 27, 32–3, 83
aulêtris 88, 126–9, 155
autochthons 43, 63
autochthony 5–6, 10–11, 28
Axiochus (of Miletos) 76, 91
Axiochus (son of Alkibiades II) 76–7, 83, 85, 92
Bakewell, G. 8, 13–4, 22–5, 28–9, 31, 33, 36, 60–6, 111
banauasia 10, 154; *see also* labor and prejudice
banking 100–1, 109, 120
barbarians 10, 27, 29, 50, 60, 65
bastardy 4, 19, 23, 39, 43, 110–11
Bendis 147; *see also* cults
bigamy 18, 24, 60, 122

bilingualism, evidence of 9, 107
 Black Sea 73, 82, 141
 brothers 10, 13, 75, 91, 103, 130, 156; Keremaikos Building Z3 156; *see also* prostitution
 citizenship 2–26, 28, 56, 58–9, 61, 63, 65, 89, 100, 109, 111, 117–18, 122–3, 125, 153
 Citizenship Law 5–7, 14–25, 27–9, 38–9, 43, 45, 51–2, 56, 58, 63, 65, 74–5, 77–8, 84, 86, 97, 106, 111, 115
 Clairmont, C. 67, 157–8, 160
 clothing: foreign 72, 90, 156; manufacture 130–2, 156; *persikai* 45–6, 89; *sakkos* 73
 comedy 59, 69–70, 83, 86, 88, 92, 96, 112, 118, 121, 127, 144; *see also* Aristophanes, Menander
 commensality 88; *see also* symposium, *pannychis*
 concubinage *see* *pallakê*
 courtesan *see* *hetaira*
 cults, foreign 126, 141, 145–9, 159–60
 Cybele (Magna Mater) 41, 147–8; *see also* cults
 Danaids 23, 29–39, 44–6, 51, 56, 58–63, 81, 83
 Danaos 29, 31–2, 49, 55, 60–2
 Delian League 29, 32; *see also* Athenian empire
 demographics 15–16, 23
 Demosthenes 25, 98, 100, 120, 144, 146; citizen status 84, 120; mother of 7, 11, 17, 107–9, 111
 descent 6, 11, 28, 41–9, 68, 71, 75
 diseases, metic women as 27, 40–2, 48–9, 55, 108, 111; *see also* impurity
 dowry 21, 87, 92, 96, 98, 108, 111–14, 120–1; *gunê enguêtês* 114
 Drakon, law of 21, 24, 115, 122, 137
 drinking 70–3, 88–90, 104, 113, 130, 156; *see also* commensality, occupations, symposium
 economic contributions: labor 123–61; tax 1–2, 9, 12, 27, 119
 education 77, 82, 150–3, 160; music 93, 161; *see also* Sophist
 Egyptians 3, 14, 147
 Eirene of Byzantium 107, 110
 Elpinikê (daughter of Miltiades) 78–84, 88, 92, 93–5, 108
 enfranchisement (naturalization) 2, 4, 17, 25, 99–101, 106; *see also* freed slaves
 erotocization 35–6, 51–2, 71, 77–80, 86, 88–9, 95, 151–2, 161
 ethnic markers 131, 133–4, 136, 141, 154–5, 158
 ethnicity 3–10, 13, 22, 27–9, 38, 56, 58–60, 66, 75, 107, 118
 Etruscans 72–3, 90, 95
 Euripides 94; *Andromache* 60, 62; *Heraklidae* 49, 51–6; *Hippolytus* 38, 40–4, 46–9, 55–6, 9, 63, 68, 78, 83, 117; *Ion* 5; *Medea* 49–52, 55–6, 58, 63–6, 140–1, 144, 159
 Euxitheus 9, 17–8, 107, 120, 123, 125–6, 136, 155
 exiles 3–4, 15, 32, 41, 51–3, 61, 64–6, 76, 95
 flute girl *see* *aulêtris*
 freed slaves 3–4, 9–10, 99–102, 104–7, 112–14, 119–20, 124–30, 133, 136, 153, 154; *see also* manumission
 funeral oratory 5, 36, 46, 62, 66, 79, 82, 152
 Furies *see* *Aeschylus*

gnēsioi (legitimate children) 17–19, 24, 43, 60, 94, 98, 115, 121
 gossip 68, 77–9, 81, 94, 107, 146
 grain distributions 4, 14, 23
 grave markers 3, 13, 55–7, 62, 66–7, 90–1, 107–8, 110, 116, 119–20, 122, 126, 131–6, 141–3
 healer (*akestris*) 124, 140, 143–5
 Hegesipyle (mother of Elpinikê) 79, 88
 Helen 68, 83
 Henry, M. 74, 79, 87, 91–9, 121, 151–2, 160
 hetaira 8, 78–87, 93, 103, 111–12, 120–2, 145–7, 160; Aspasia as 74–5, 86, 90–1; *autê autês kuria* 114, 121, 137; citizens as 68–74, 88, 121; definition of 68–74, 88, 112–17; in images 87; as prostitute 21, 69, 88, 95, 121; ‘spinning hetaira’ 131, 156
 Hippolytus *see* Euripides
 hubris 90, 104, 119–20; *see also* violence
 ideology 6–8, 16, 27–8, 49, 51, 55, 59, 68, 75–8, 86, 95, 97, 106–8, 111, 117, 152, 159
 immigration 3, 5–7, 9, 12–6, 22, 27–9, 45, 51–2, 62, 64, 72, 85, 91, 112, 114, 124, 124, 141–2
 impiety (*asebeia*) 22, 145–8, 159
 inheritance 17–19, 24–5, 39, 43, 56, 63, 92, 98, 109, 116, 120; property 6; traits 46, 48–9
 Io 29
 Ionian Greeks 5, 29, 32, 70, 72–3, 89–90, 131, 151–2, 156
 Isaeus 10, 24–5, 88, 92, 98, 107, 115, 121, 137, 139–40, 156
 Isis 147; *see also* cults
kalos thanatos 55, 66
 Kapparis, K. 16–17, 20, 23–5, 95, 98, 115, 118–22, 158
 Kimon (son of Miltiades) 3, 6, 61–2, 78–80, 82–3, 88, 93–5
 Klazomenian sarcophagi 72
 Kleisthenes 5, 12–13, 22, 61, 67
 Kleobulê *see* Demosthenes
 Koisyra (mother of Megakles) 61, 78–84, 94–5, 108, 113
kottabos 70–1, 88
krotala 148–9, 160
kuria 2, 105, 114, 120–1, 137–8, 140
kurios 21, 27, 61, 77, 87, 92, 113–14, 118, 121, 128
 Kurke, L. 69–71, 88–9, 94
 Kythera 133–4, 157
 labor 117, 123–61; *see also* occupations, wages
 Lape, S. 6, 10–11, 36, 59–60, 120, 122
 landownership 6, 11, 28, 36–8, 62; *enktesis ges* 2, 9, 154
 legal status 1–4, 12–25, 97–103, 106–7, 112, 115, 117–21, 136–7, 153; registration with *polemarch* 2, 12–13, 59, 104–5, 137
 Lewis, D. M. 8–9, 22–3
 Lewis, S. 68–9, 87, 89, 129, 154–6
 Locrians 72–3, 90, 160
 luxury (*truphê*) 69, 72–4, 76, 79–85, 90, 94, 128
 Lydians 72, 89–90, 147

Lysias 5, 46, 53, 66, 92, 95, 107, 115–17, 121, 124
 Lysikles 75, 77, 91–2, 151
 madam (brothel-keeper) 59, 74–5, 77, 87, 91, 129, 151–2; *see also* prostitution
 magic *see* witchcraft
 manumission 4, 9, 101, 119, 126; *see also* freed slaves, *phialai* inscriptions
 marriage 2, 6–7, 14–25, 27–32, 34–8, 40, 43–4, 48–50, 54–6, 58, 60–5, 75–7, 82, 86–7, 89, 91–8, 100, 103, 106–7, 109, 111–15, 117, 121, 136–7, 140, 157
 matchmaker (*promnestris*) 151–2, 161
 McClure, L. 59, 69, 79, 88, 91, 121, 155, 160
 Medea *see* Euripides
 Melitta 134–6, 157–61
 Menander 103, 112, 121–2
 metic, definition of 1–7
metoikia (legal status) 5, 7, 9, 12–15, 22–3, 26, 28–9, 33, 36, 36, 38–40, 49, 61–3, 99, 101, 106, 128
metoikion (metic tax) 1–3, 9, 12–14; compared to *xenika* 9
metroxenoí 6–7, 18, 24, 32, 38–9, 41–4, 46, 53, 55–6, 71, 76, 81, 107–8
 Meyer, E. 9–11, 67, 101, 105, 118–19, 126, 154–5
 Miletos 3, 11, 32, 72–4, 76, 83, 91, 109, 120, 141, 150, 153
 moderation *see* *sophrosynê*
 naming 56, 74–5, 78–81, 93–5, 109, 116, 122, 131, 133–4, 155–6
 Neaira 9, 20, 95, 98, 103–6, 111–14, 117, 119–20, 124–5, 137–40, 154, 158; *see also* Apollodoros, Stephanos
 Nikomenes, law of 19, 21; *see also* Aristophon
 Ninon 145–6, 148, 159
nothos *see* *bastardy*
 occupations: doctor 56, 124, 141, 143, 163, 158; governess 136–40; herbalist 8, 65, 80, 141, 144; market vendors 8, 94, 126, 129–31, 155; midwife 3, 8, 56, 65, 124–5, 140–5, 153, 158; musician 16, 124, 127–9; nurse 3, 8, 16, 101–3, 114, 119, 122–6, 133, 138–9, 153, 157–8; perfumer-maker 154; priestess 8, 63, 87, 95, 124, 145–8, 159; seamstress 124, 126, 130–1, 159; shoemakers 8, 126, 128, 155; tavern keepers 126–7, 129–30, 155, 156; *see also* woolworker
ostraka 56, 66, 79–81, 94
pollakê: 18, 24, 59, 75–6, 87, 90, 113–15, 122, 136–7, 157; definition 21, 25, 122; domestic partner 116–17, 120; governess 137–40, 144; personal attendant 136–7, 157; religious attendant 121
 Panathenaia 32, 88
 Panhellenism 4, 10, 15, 29
pannychis 70, 88
 Pasikles 100, 109–11; *see also* Apollodoros
 patriotism 28–9, 35, 51, 66, 85, 107
 Patterson, C. 10, 13–5, 21–3, 25, 28, 60, 64, 114, 119, 121–2
 Peisistratos 14, 31, 61–2, 67, 79, 82, 95
 Pelasgos 29–32, 37, 60–2
 Peloponnesian War 5–6, 15–16, 21, 51–2, 66, 73, 75, 83, 86, 122–3
 Perikles (general) 4, 6, 17–19, 24, 36, 74–9, 83, 85, 91–5, 148, 151–3, 159–61
 Perikles (son of Perikles) 4, 7, 17, 23, 74–5, 83, 92
 Persian Wars 10, 13–5, 22, 29, 32, 45, 56, 62
 Persians 3, 5, 10, 45, 60–1, 73, 82–3, 89–90, 95, 122, 131, 156

Phaedra *see* Euripides
 Phano 20, 98, 111, 113, 120, 138, 140–3, 145, 153; *see also* Neaira
 Phanostratê 56, 141
pharmaka 63, 140–1, 143–6, 148, 159; *see also* witchcraft
phialai inscriptions 9, 11, 101–19, 126–9, 131, 133, 154–6, 159
 Phoenicians 3, 9, 14, 107, 133–4, 147
 Phormio 100, 109, 111, 120, 125; *see also* Apollodoros
 Phrynê 145–8, 159–60
 Phrynon 104–6, 112–13, 119, 137; *see also* Neaira
 Pindar 69, 88, 94
 Piraeus 26, 30–1, 147, 155
 plague 6, 17–8, 21, 52, 66–7, 74, 98, 122
 Plataeans 9, 51, 85, 125
 Plato 6, 11, 77, 141–4, 151–2, 158, 161
 Plutarch 24, 26, 92–5, 145, 152, 159
 Polygnotos 79, 93
 Pomeroy, S. 26, 59, 75, 87, 93–4, 155, 160
 Poristes 75, 77 poverty 125, 155
 prejudice 4–6, 10, 16, 21–2, 24, 78, 82, 97–8, 103, 106–12, 114, 117, 123–7, 129–30, 132, 136, 138, 141, 143–5, 153–4
 priestess *see* cults, occupations
 privileges: *enketesis gês* 2, 154; *enketesis oikias* 2; *isoteleia* 2, 11, 134, 136, 157; *proxenia* 2, 61
 prosecution: *dikê apostasiou* 3, 9, 101, 105, 118–19, 126, 154; *graphê aprostasiou* 3, 12, 99, 101, 119, 126, 154; *graphê xenias* 3, 23, 101, 103, 105;
prostates (sponsor) 2–3, 12, 22, 27, 56, 59, 61, 99–102, 104–5, 115, 119, 137, 141
 prostitution 2–4, 8–9, 16, 21, 27, 59, 68–74, 76–8, 81, 83–91, 93–7, 103–4, 111–14, 117, 119, 154
 rape 103–4, 112, 117, 129, 155
 respectability 2, 69, 77, 79, 87, 95, 106–7, 112, 117, 128–9, 131–2, 137, 144–7, 150–1, 155–57, 159, 161
 Samos 3, 9, 24, 32, 61–2, 83, 121
 Sappho 69, 72, 88, 152
 Schaps, D. 67, 79, 92, 155
 Scythians 3, 11, 17, 45, 64, 10, 7, 109, 111, 120
 Second Sophistic 69, 75, 77, 85–6
 separation 28, 49, 52, 55, 68, 130
 sexual deviance 1, 24, 27, 31, 39, 41–2, 44, 46, 48, 50, 55–6, 59, 68, 72, 82–4, 89, 91, 96, 110–11, 117, 120–1, 152–3, 160; incest 79, 83, 93
 sexual status 2, 9, 28, 30–1, 35, 45–6, 51, 55, 59–62, 66, 71, 85, 89, 95, 113, 117, 124–27, 130, 136–7, 139–40
 Sicilian expedition 17–19, 24, 83, 122
 slander 17, 22, 27, 30, 53, 59, 66, 72–3, 77, 83–4, 90, 106, 109–11, 114, 117, 120, 124, 128–29, 138, 143–44, 152–53
 slavery 1–4, 9–10, 18, 24–5, 60, 69, 73–4, 76, 80, 90, 94, 98–100, 107–9, 111–12, 114–15, 117–25, 127–31, 133–4, 136–9, 144, 156–7, 161
 Socrates 11, 24, 84, 92, 122, 141, 151–52, 154, 161
 Solon 22, 122
 Sophist, Aspasia as 77, 84, 150–2

Sophocles: *Antigone* 28, 38–40, 63; *Oedipus at Colonus* 65; *Trachiniae* 159
sophrosynê (moderation) 31, 42, 46, 52, 60, 66
 ‘spinning hetairai’, see *hetaira*
stasis 29, 33, 35–6, 52, 55, 66
 Stephanos (I) 20, 98, 103–6, 117, 119, 122, 125, 137–40, 154, 158; see also *Apollodoros*, *Neaira*
 Stephanos (II) 100, 109, 120; see also *Apollodoros*, *Phormio*
 stereotypes 49, 53, 66, 123–4
 supplication 29, 32–3, 51–3, 65
 symposium 69–70, 73, 85–6, 88–9, 94, 113, 127–9
 textile production 124, 130–2, 156
 Theoris 143–5, 148, 159
thesmotetai 129, 155; see also *Aristogeiton*, brother of
 Thirty Tyrants 6–7, 19, 66, 120
 Thracians 3, 10, 61, 70–3, 79, 82, 89, 147, 155
 transgression 7, 48–50, 55–6, 59, 84, 97, 110–11, 145; see also *sexual deviancy*
 tyranny 28, 31–2, 68, 82–4, 95
 Tzanetou, A. 33, 62, 65–6
 Verstergaard, T. 23, 91, 93, 122
 violence 35, 101, 103–12, 117, 119, 129; see also *hubris*, *rape*
 wages 87, 124–5, 128–29, 132–3
 Whitehead, D. 1, 8, 11, 13, 15–16, 22–4, 27, 60, 63, 118, 120, 154, 157
 widows 2, 87, 92, 121, 136, 140
 witchcraft 63, 40, 143–46, 148, 158–60
 witnesses 20, 96, 98, 101, 103, 106, 118, 120, 137, 147
 woolworkers 3, 124–27, 130–1, 133, 154, 156
 Xenophon 11, 77, 120, 151–52, 156, 161
xenos 9, 13, 62, 119
 Zobia 99–101, 103, 128; see also *Aristogeiton*